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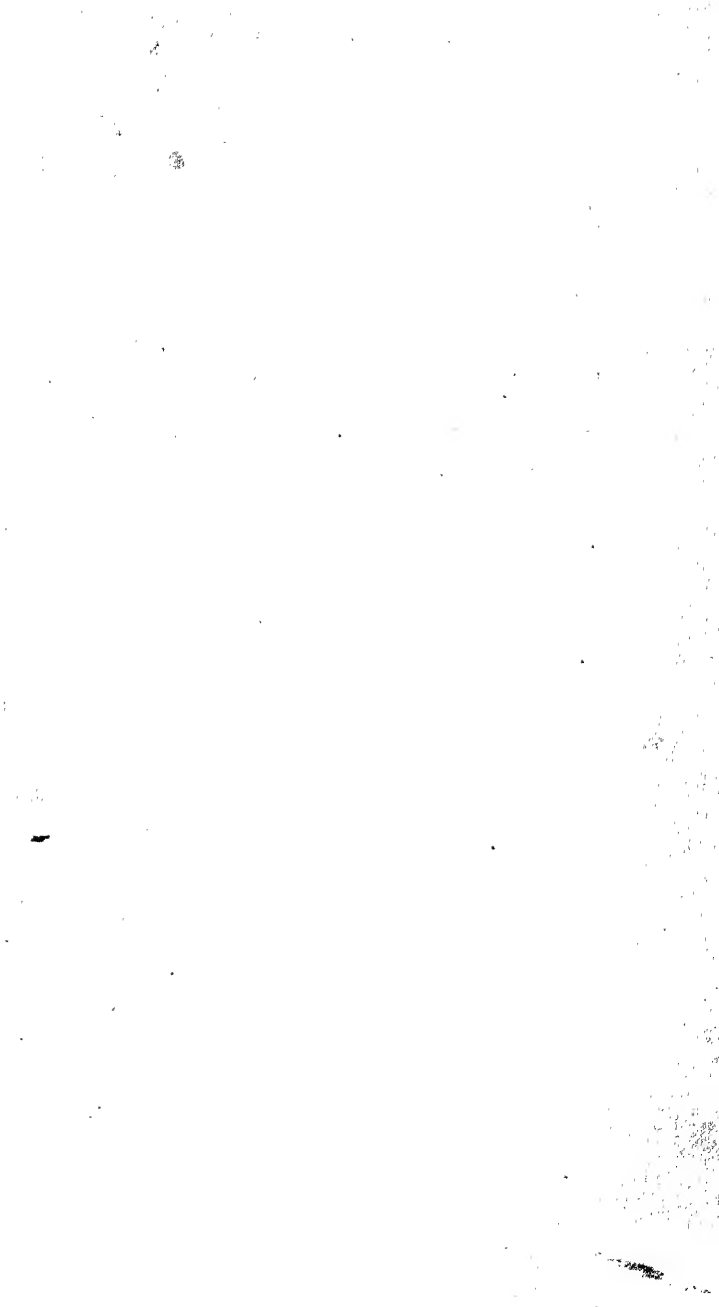
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SOME ASPECTS OF LATE MUGHAL DELHI.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE DELHI HISTORICAL STUDY CIRCLE ON
27TH JANUARY, 1936.

I. Delhi in 1782-1785.

This paper is intended to deal with some aspects of Delhi history between 1770 and 1857, which hitherto has attracted little attention. Is it not a strange fact that the history of the imperial city of India should, within the last two centuries, have been wrapped in an obscurity greater than many periods of mediæval history and even of ancient Egypt? Yet this is not for want of records, but rather for want of adequate search and work in reconstructing the past.

The history of the city from 1707-1772 has been recorded in admirable detail by Irvine in his *Later Mughals* and by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the two volumes of his *Fall of the Moghul Empire*. From that time we have only Franklin's *Reign of Shah Alam* published in 1794, and H. G. Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, to guide us. From 1800 there is nothing whatever.¹ It would seem as if the eighteenth century were more interested in the history of Delhi than the twentieth. The student of history in Delhi can find no nobler or more useful subject of study than the gradual decline of the city from the departure of Aurangzeb to the Deccan in 1680 down to the catastrophe of 1857, and its gradual resuscitation and wonderful expansion in recent years.

My story opens on January 3rd, 1772², when at 8-15 a.m. Shah Alam crossed the Jumna bridge of boats and re-entered Delhi after the city had been without an emperor for thirteen years. It was even then only a shadow of its former self. To the sacks of Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah, the raids of Suraj Mal and the Mahrattas, must be added the economic ruin which the wars of the *Wazir*, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, *Imad-ul-Mulk*, of the Afghans and of the Mahrattas had brought about. During those years what was known as Old Delhi, the city of Humayun, which had stretched from the Purana Qila to the Khuni Darwaza, opposite the present jail, had become depopulated. In 1752 Safdar Jung and Imad-ul-mulk, the new minister of the imbecile Ahmad Shah, had occupied, the one the old city and the other the new city of Shahjehanabad, and cannonaded each

1. One volume of selections from the Delhi Residency Records has been published in the Panjab Historical Record Series.

2. Sir J. Sarkar—*Fall of the Moghul Empire*, Volume II, p. 555.

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other for weeks¹. In 1754 Suraj Mal plundered old Delhi so that the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* remarks "that no one could escape from the Jat plunderers even by taking refuge in a holy man's house²." The city to which Shah Alam returned was Shahjehanabad with a mass of half ruined and depopulated suburbs stretching from Sabzi Mandi to the Purana Qila. These ruins became a quarry for enterprising builders in Shahjehanabad, and so gradually disappeared in the course of time, except for mosques, graveyards and tombs.

Most English writers on the period consider this expedition of Shah Alam's, from the sheltered ease of Allahabad to the stormy uncertainty of Delhi, a fool-hardy and perverse expedition. But to me it seems a gallant and hazardous adventure. Shah Alam's choice was really between the life of a pensionary in Allahabad, and a poor life at that, or the possibility of independence with the risk of subservience to the Mahrattas. From the Mughal point of view Shah Alam's decision was the nobler and wiser. And it may be asked, would Shah Alam's ultimate position have been any better if he had stayed on under British protection? He would have saved his sight, but he would have been a British pensionary, with no hope of relief, thirty-two years before he actually became such, and that without an effort at independence. The incident has, in fact, been habitually regarded through the spectacles of Warren Hastings, to whom it was highly inconvenient. The measure of Shah Alam's success in the next twelve years is a sufficient justification of the adventure, and it should be remembered that at one time Clive seriously considered marching to Dchli and himself restoring the Emperor.

The secret of Shah Alam's prosperity in the next twelve years was the skill of his minister, Mirza Najaf Khan, whose death in 1782 marked the beginning of the final eclipse of the Mughal power. A series of papers in the *Home Miscellaneous Series* of the India Office Records³, which have never been used before, throw an interesting light on the *Wazir's* success, and on the events which followed his death.

The series begins with a letter from John Bristow, resident at the Court of Oudh in 1781, reporting the position of Mirza Najaf

1. J. Sarkar.—*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I.
2. *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*. III, p. 48.
3. *Home Misc. Series*, Vols. 336 and 765.

Khan, then at the height of his power¹. His army was estimated at thirty battalions of disciplined sepoys, 73,000 cavalry and infantry and 5,000 rocket-men. There were, besides, 300 mounted and 400 unmounted guns. This was the strongest force between Bengal and the north-west passes, and it is clear that Delhi at that time was by no means the shadow empire it is usually assumed to have been. There might be a *fainéant* emperor, but there was a very effective mayor of the palace. But the same letters also explain the fatal weakness of the position. There was great difficulty in paying these troops, and consequently desertions were frequent, and the difficulty was shortly to be greatly accentuated by the terrible famine of 1782-83. Further, all the land under Mughal control was assigned to various chiefs, who contributed between them the 73,000 men. All of these men were adventurers and most of them were foreign or of foreign extraction; they had all the ambition of mediæval nobles without any of their inducements to loyalty. In fact, the whole Mughal power depended now upon the personality of Mirza Najaf Khan, and there was no one to take his place. The *mansobdar* system had broken down, and the empire had gone back in its last days to the conditions of its first, when everything depended upon personal leadership. But there were two important differences: first, in the sixteenth century there was a solid body of Mughals, whose support Babar could always rely upon; secondly, the dynasty itself was vigorous and soldierly. In the eighteenth century the mercenary principle dominated the whole service and the continued insignificance of the Emperors had undermined all personal loyalty. Respect for a dynasty had replaced loyalty to a person.

Early in 1782 Mirza Najaf Khan died and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Afrasiab Khan, who had married into the late minister's family. There followed a confused period of intrigue and *coups d'état*, until in December, 1782, Mirza Shafi of Meerut established himself as *Amir-ul-Omrah* and *Mir Bakshi*. One of Bristow's letters analyses the position of the contending parties. Afrasiab Khan, minister for a few months in 1782, held the Koil (Aligarh) district and had a revenue of twenty-five lakhs and an army of 25,000 men. He was the only chief who balanced his budget, but had no reputation as a soldier. Next, the Gosains of Firozabad

1. "Bengal Secret Consultations," 22nd March. 1781 (*Home Misc. Series*. Vol. 336, p. 1-8).

commanded 7,000-8,000 troops with a revenue of eight lakhs. They had recently been dispossessed by Mohammed Beg Hamdani. Next, Mohammed Beg Hamdani himself, reputed the strongest of the chiefs, held the Agra and Dholpur districts and commanded 30,000 men. He was a supporter of the new minister Mirza Shafi Khan. Najaf Kuli Khan commanded about 5,000 men, but had been imprisoned by Mirza Shafi and had fled to Karnal. Mirza Shafi himself held the Meerut district, commanded 20,000 troops, had a revenue of twenty lakhs, and was much respected for his high spirit and courage. The sister of Mirza Najaf Khan was also influential and much respected. There were also, of course, many smaller chiefs, each with their own armies and territories; one of these was the Begam Samru of Sardhana. Lastly, Shah Alam himself: like the French kings of the tenth century, he was less powerful than any of his great nobles, but unlike the earlier Capets, he lacked the ability to play off one great lord against another and gradually to increase his own influence in the process.

We may now in these letters follow the steps by which the chiefs first quarrelled amongst themselves, then called in Madho Rao Sindhia, and finally passed under his control. Our informant is Major James Browne, who was deputed by the Calcutta Council to proceed to Delhi in the summer of 1782¹. In his instructions he was ordered to refuse any tribute for Bengal, or any recession of Korah and Allahabad, to look for traces of the agents of other powers, and to encourage the king to ask for troops for his protection, provided arrangements could be made for paying them. His main object was to counteract the influence of Sindhia. He reached Delhi early in 1783 after being delayed for some time at Farrukhabad².

The drama opens in 1783 with Mirza Shafi in power. A quarrel between Mirza Shafi and his follower, Mirza Beg Hamdani, led Shafi to make the first approach to Sindhia. A reconciliation however took place, and the negotiation lapsed. Mirza Shafi now turned to the English. Major Browne proposed that six battalions with artillery and cavalry should be lent to Shah Alam³. This

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1. "Secret Bengal Consultations" 20th August, 1782, 6th October, 1782. (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 765, p. 67).
 2. "Secret Bengal Consultations" 3rd March, 1783. (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336).
 3. "Secret Bengal Consultations" 20th January, 1784, letter from Major Browne, 30th December, 1783. (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 330).

force was to be placed under his personal control and was to be paid from the assignment of Lutf Ali Khan, recently resumed by the *wazir*. This force was to provide a nucleus of support for the royal authority against the chiefs, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs. If this treaty had come into operation, it might gradually have developed into a subsidiary alliance on the Wellesley model, and the Mughals might still be in the Red Fort to day. But it was rejected by Calcutta, and the shadow of Sindhia grew longer. Mirza Shafi turned to Sindhia once more and concluded a definite treaty. He was now at the height of his power, with an army of 60,000 men and 300 guns, but intrigue was deepening into violence.¹ In October 1783, Mirza Shafi was murdered and his place as the leading chief was taken again by Afrasiab Khan. Majid-ud-Daula, the former rival of Najaf Khan, was the chief minister, but had no resources with which to enforce the royal will against the turbulent chiefs.

For a year Afrasiab Khan held the reins of power at Delhi. But his position was far from secure. He had first to reckon with Mohd. Beg Hamdani, the former supporter of Mirza Shafi, and with Mirza Shafi's own relations. Next came Sindhia, ever active and watchful to increase his influence and power. Finally in the background was the British power, the most potent, but also the most difficult to invoke and the most dangerous of them all. Afrasiab, like Mirza Shafi, tried to play off one power against another and, like Shafi also, was tempted to call in a stronger external power in order to crush a domestic enemy. Both of them rejected Najaf Khan's policy of hard fighting and reliance on one's own resources, in favour of foreign treaties and political sleight of hand. Both put their personal position before their country's independence and both perished by the violence which they themselves had stirred up. The parallel between the last Mughal and the last Sikh ministers is very instructive; in both we see the subordination of patriotism to personal ambition, the replacement of reason by assassination as the chief instrument of politics, and reliance on external aid for victory in domestic disputes. In both the independence of the country is finally betrayed by an enemy in the guise of a friend—in the one case Raja Golab Singh of Jammu and in the other Madho Rao Sindhia.

1. Memorandum of Major Browne on the State of Affairs (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 99.)

Afrasiab, like Mirza Shafi, once more applied to the English for an alliance, but in February, 1784, receiving no reply from them, he renewed the treaty with Sindhia. In April Prince Mohd. Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, fled from Delhi, partly out of jealousy of the favours shown to the second son, Jewan Bakht,¹ and partly in the hope of procuring assistance from Warren Hastings. The new alliance with Sindhia alarmed the English and in June Major Browne returned from Lucknow with the offer of a very cautious treaty. Afrasiab Khan accepted it, but Shah Alam rejected it, so that once more the plan fell through and the influence of Sindhia was strengthened. Sindhia (through his *vakil* Himmat Bahadur), now persuaded Afrasiab to accept his aid in dealing with the growing menace of Mohd. Beg Hamdani. The end came in November. Sindhia marched in, seized all the strong places and, on the payment of two lakhs, prepared to attack Mohd. Beg Hamdani. At this moment (October, 1784) Afrasiab was assassinated by a follower of Mirza Shafi's brother, Zia-ul-Abdin Khan.

Sindhia was now master of the situation. Himmat Bahadur was appointed *Naib* for Afrasiab's son; Mohd. Beg Hamdani was defeated, and Sindhia's triumph was crowned by the arrival of Shah Alam himself in the Maratha camp. In December Sindhia vetoed the return of the Shahzada with the Wazir's troops, obtained the title of *Vakil-i-Mallak* (higher than that of *Mir Bakshi*) for the infant *Peshwa*, and that of *Naib* (deputy) for himself. This was the real end of the independent Mughal power. Sindhia had extended his influence to the borders of the Panjab and had acquired imperial authority for all his acts. "I take the Shah's name," wrote Major Browne,² "to be of as much importance as an Act of Parliament in England, if supported by as strong a force." It was invaluable to Sindhia because it cast a cloak of legality over all his actions. For the next three years the Mughal State was in subordinate alliance with Sindhia. The catastrophe of 1788 was not the cause of Sindhia's intervention; it was rather the result of a temporary slackening of Sindhia's vigilance. Its result was, by taking away from Shah Alam all power of influencing affairs, to convert him from an independent though subordinate prince into a dignified pensionary.

1. He was the favourite son of Shah Alam and was raised to the throne for a few weeks in 1788 by Ghulam Kadir Khan.
2. Major Browne's Memorandum 1785 (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 113). Major Browne left Shah Alam's court on 22nd April, 1785 (p. 122).

II. *The last Mughal Offensive.*

The occupation of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803 did not change the status of Shah Alam but gave it a new aspect. The Shah had been a pensionary ever since 1788, but the conditions of his life were now changed. First, he gained much in dignity and comfort. Sindhia had only allowed him Rs. 17,000¹ per month for his personal expenses, but from the first he received Rs. 60,000² a month from the British for himself alone. His greater affluence is shown by the fact that at his death in 1806 there were five lakhs in the treasury, of which three lakhs represented the savings of the previous three years³. Far more personal deference was paid to the Emperor by the British than by Sindhia. On the other hand, the hope of one day escaping from this tutelage disappeared for ever. If the chains of dependence now chafed the royal person less painfully, their links were far more firmly riveted. Only the upheaval of the Mutiny restored to the Emperor for a brief four months his nominal authority. Further, the last legal link which had connected the *de facto* power with the *de jure*, was snapped by the British. Under the Sindhia regime the *Peshwa* had been the *Vakil-i-Mallak*, the highest officer of the Empire, with Sindhia himself as his deputy.⁴ But the British came in avowedly as the protectors, not the servants of the Emperor. They accepted no titles⁵ and took no imperial office. The real break in legal continuity in Indian history occurred at this moment, rather than, as has been suggested,⁶ with the stopping of the presentation of *nazrs* in 1843,

1. Delhi Residency Records (Pol. & Misc.), Case I, No. 84, "Note on Stipend" 1855, December 13.
2. *India Office Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 853-862, Secret Letter of 2nd June, 1803.
3. Memo. on the affairs of the Court of Delhi with reference to the orders contained in the Political Letter to Bengal of 17 August, 1808 by Mr. Holford.
4. Lord Lake was given a title, but this was a personal one only. It did not carry with it, as Sindhia's had done, the office of Administrator of the Empire. I think that in this connection the distinction between an office and a title is a valid one. When a title was conferred on Simon Fraser in recognition of his work in the case of the Mewat Shams-ud-din, the action was disapproved and the acceptance of all such titles was forbidden for the future.
5. Buckle.—*Political Theory of the Mutiny*, (Royal Hist. Society's Journal, Fourth Series, Vol. V, p. 71).
6. M. E. Monckton Jones.—*Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 168-9. Hastings wrote: "As I see no use in excuses or evasions which all the world can see through, I replied to the peremptory demand of the king for the tribute of Bengal by a peremptory declaration that not a rupee should pass through the provinces till they had recovered from the distresses to which lavish payments to him had largely contributed.

or at the Mutiny. The rebellion, in a legal sense, of the English had occurred long before. It began when Warren Hastings stopped payment of the Bengal tribute in 1772, and refused Shah Alam's demand for it, and it was completed by the refusal of Cornwallis to treat the Mughal envoy as the agent of a power superior to himself.

From this time there were a series of negotiations between the Emperor and the British Government which have never yet been fully examined from the point of view of Delhi and its relations with Calcutta. Our starting point is the agreement with Lord Lake, which was confirmed by Lord Wellesley in 1805.¹ This is worth quoting in full. With the first proposals of Lord Wellesley in 1804, that the stipend of the king might be fixed at rupces thirty lakhs, it forms the basis of all subsequent negotiations².

The letter is as follows :—

Extract from the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated 2nd June, 1805.

"7. After the fullest deliberation upon the contents of the documents above mentioned, and of all the circumstances of the case, the Governor-General in Council finally determined to adopt an arrangement upon the basis of the following provisions : (1) that a specified portion of the territories in the vicinity of Delhi, situated on the right bank of the Jumna, should be assigned in part of the provision for the maintenance of the Royal Family ; (2) that those lands should remain under the charge of the Resident at Delhi ; (3) and that the Revenue should be collected, and justice should be administered in the name of His Majesty Shah Allum, under regulations to be fixed by the British Government ; (4) that His Majesty should be permitted to appoint a *Dewan* and other inferior officers to attend at the office of the Collector, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting to His Majesty the amount of the Revenue which should be received and the charges of collection ; and of satisfying His Majesty's mind that no part of the produce of the assigned territory was misappropriated ; (5) that two Courts of Justice should be established for the administration of civil and criminal justice according to the Mahommedan law to the inhabitants of the city of Delhi ; and of the assigned territory ; (6) that no sentences of the criminal courts

1. Secret Letter from Bengal, para 7-10, (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 708, p. 591 eg.)

2. Delhi Residency Records Case I, No. 84. Note on Stipends, 13th December, 1855.

extending to death should be carried into execution without the express sanction of His Majesty, to whom the proceedings in all trials of this description should be reported, and that sentences of mutilation should be commuted.

8. (7) that to provide for the immediate wants of His Majesty and the Royal household, the following sums should be paid monthly in money, from the treasury of the Resident at Delhi :—

	Rs.
To His Majesty for his private expenses ...	60,000
To the Heir Apparent exclusive of certain ...	10,000
<i>Jaggeers.</i>	
To a favourite son of His Majesty named Mirza Izzut Bucks.	5,000
To two other sons of His Majesty ...	1,500
To His Majesty's fifty younger sons and daughters.	10,000
To Shah Newanze Khan, His Majesty's Treasurer.	2,500
To Syed Begzee Khaun, British Agent at His Majesty's Court, and related to His Majesty by marriage.	1,000
Total per mensem ...	<u>90,000</u>

9. That if the produce of the revenue of the assigned territory should hereafter admit of it, the monthly sum to be advanced to His Majesty for his private expenses, might be increased to one lakh of rupees.

10. That in addition to the sums above specified, the sum of 10,000 rupees should annually be paid to His Majesty on certain festivals, agreeably to ancient usage."

We have here two separate questions—that of honour, with which was bound up the question of jurisdiction, and that of the stipend.

The first development in the modification of the king's position took place at the death of Shah Alam on November 19th, 1806. Mirza Akbar, eldest surviving son of Shah Alam, was preferred to Prince Mirza Izzat Bakhsh, the second and favourite surviving son of Shah Alam¹. The Resident seized the opportunity to relax the

1. Memo. on the state of affairs at the Court of Delhi 1808, by M. Holford, (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336. p. 829-52.)

severity of the treatment usually accorded to the brothers of the king. In the eighteenth century, after the time of Jehandar Shah, the sons of the Emperor had never been sent away from the capital as governors or generals, and on the death of their father, had all been confined to the palace by the brother who seized power. Called *Salatin*, they took no part in court life or ceremonial, and were in fact state prisoners. Their chief occupations seem to have been cock-fighting, drinking, begetting children and flying kites. In the nineteenth century the term was extended to the whole crowd of Mughal princes within the palace. The system avoided the civil wars and executions of brothers at the beginning of each reign, but it also meant that, in case of revolution, there was no alternative Mughal prince of ability available for the throne. The defects of Mohammed Shah and of Alamgir II. were to a large extent the results of this rule. So we find that the eldest sons of the monarch—Shah Alam, Jehandar Shah, Akbar II. and Bahadur Shah—were usually men of character of at least some ability, while the rest of the royal princes were negligible. The imbecility of Ahmad Shah was an accident which is liable to occur in any royal family. In so far as this custom did much to deprive the Mughal family of the essential quality of leadership, it was one of the causes of the fall of the empire.

On the ground that the princes could be in no way danger to the reigning brothers as long as the British power supported him, Akbar Shah was persuaded to allow his brothers to attend *Durbars* on particular occasions and to have the free run of the palace. But they were not allowed to attend royal processions or to quit the palace.

The next question was the recognition of the Heir Apparent, which raised also the whole question of the relations of the Emperor with the British Government. Akbar Shah, influenced by his mother Mubarak Mahal¹ and his favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal, desired the recognition of his third son Mirza Jehangir, the son of Mumtaz Mahal, in preference to his eldest son, Mirza Abul Zafar, then thirty-two years old. This was a regular late Mughal custom and occurred also with Shah Alam and Bahadur Shah. On the British Government's refusal to recognize Jehangir, he first brought serious charges against Abul Zafar, which he was not however prepared to substantiate, and then produced a paper in which that prince was said

1. Also called Qudsia Begam.

to have renounced the succession. He accompanied this with a demand for an increase of stipend. In March, 1807, he followed this up with a letter to the Governor-General, asserting the right to nominate his own executor, who by Timurid custom became the Heir Apparent, and fixing a date for the installation of Jehangir. This letter was deemed "more suitable to the former situation and power of the Mughals than to the present dependent condition of the House of Timur" and a number of other actions suggested "that the views of Akbar were directed to the gradual recovery and exercise of the imperial authority, instead of being confined to the enjoyment of the imperial rank and title under the protection of the Company¹." He had also endeavoured to induce the Governor-General to accept a *khillat*, a ceremonial dress which implied service or allegiance by the recipient, and wished to give others to leading chiefs. When Shah Haji was allowed to go to Calcutta to present a dress privately as a mark of friendship, he announced his mission in public and asserted that it was to be the prelude to similar missions to leading chiefs throughout India.²

The Government refused to agree to any of these proposals and forbade the Resident to attend Jehangir's installation, if it took place. As a result of this attitude Akbar gave up the design of nominating his third son as his heir and, though such incidents as the irregular mission of Raja Babu Prankishen still occurred,³ the Emperor in practice gave up the attempt to assert his authority and tacitly accepted the British view of his position. This is expressed in the words of Mr. Holford's memorandum, "as providing for the comfortable subsistence and regal state of the family with the external form of respect due to royalty, but as not admitting of their restoration to the exercise of power⁴." The last Mughal attempt to regain power had failed.

We may conclude this section by adding a postscript of the fate of Mirza Jehangir.⁵ The Mirza, perhaps chagrined by the failure of the plan to make him Heir Apparent, behaved so disrespectfully to his mother, that in October, 1809, he was removed to Allahabad. He was allowed to return to Delhi on November 20th, 1810, and

1. Ibid. Mr. Holford's Memorandum.

2. *Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 853-62.

3. *Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 853-6.

4. Mr. Holford's Memorandum, 1808.

5. *Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336, p. 853-6.

restored to his former privileges, subject to certain restrictions as a guarantee of his future good conduct. In January, 1812,¹ Jehangir once more asked permission to leave Delhi, both because at Allahabad he had acquired a taste for English manners and freedom, with the result that the lesser liberty of the Delhi palace irked him, and because, now having lost all hope of the throne, he feared being placed under restraint by his elder brother on his father's death. In March, 1812, Mirza Jehangir left Delhi for good and settled down in Allahabad.

III. *The Royal Stipend.*

As we have seen the royal stipend was provisionally fixed in 1805, the Emperor receiving Rs. 60,000 for his private purse and Rs. 90,000 a month in all. The hope of an increase, when revenue permitted, to rupees sixteen lakhs a year, was also held out. From this income the economical Shah Alam saved five lakhs in three years, but Akbar II. had more expensive tastes. He was encouraged to ask for more by the first provisional figure mentioned by Wellesley in 1803, namely, thirty lakhs. For the next few years his other demands on the Government were always accompanied by a request for an increase of stipend. At length, the royal offensive having being repulsed in all other matters, increase of stipend was agreed to in 1809.² The stipend was raised to twelve lakhs per annum and the Resident was instructed to accompany it "with a full and candid exposition of the real nature of his position and of his relation to the British power."³ Allowing for various reductions made between 1805 and 1807, the increase amounted to Rs. 2, 58,000⁴. The king accepted the increase, but was far from satisfied with it, for it not only fell far short of the rupees thirty lakhs mentioned in 1803, but also of the Rs. 16,30,000 suggested in 1805 to be granted as soon as circumstances permitted. And though he had listened patiently to "the full and candid exposition of the real nature of his position" and put all the blame for his previous manœuvres upon Qudsia Begum and Mumtaz Mahal, he had not yet given them up in his own mind. In the following years his feelings were further wounded. Lord Hastings would not interview the Emperor except upon equal terms ;

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1. Political Consultations, 10th January, 1812. (*Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 336 p. 863-4).
 2. Despatch to Bengal, 19th October, 1809, p. 193-205.
 3. *Ibid* para 201.
 4. *Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 708, p. 587-99.

Lord Amherst insisted on the same procedure, and it was clear that the British Government regarded him as nothing but a pensionary. We thus find two questions which are mixed together—the question of finance and the question of dignity.

In 1827 Akbar II. made the last real effort of the Mughals to improve their position. I call it advisedly "the last real effort," because it was the last occasion on which the shadow was not mistaken for the substance. Henceforward, increasingly, matters of ceremonial and court ritual, status and right, appear more important than anything practical, such as the royal stipend, repairs to the palace, or the condition of the royal family, until they are actually rejected for the insubstantial dreams of old men musing of the past. It is characteristic of declining royalty that the less there is of the substance of authority, the more store is set upon its name and appearance, and in this preoccupation with forms the Mughals were only showing that they were entering upon the last pitiful stage in the slow consumption of a sovereign family.

As with the last Moghul effort for political power, this episode is illumined by a masterful personality and a faithful servant. In this case it was Ram Mohan Roy, and as soon as his influence begins to be felt, we become aware of the hand of a master, a new clarity comes into state documents, a new vigour of reasoning and candour, a strong grasp of actual reality, and a keen eye for practical issues. The campaign opened in 1827, with a paper of requests by Akbar II.¹ It was based on the settlement of Lord Lake, confirmed by Wellesley in 1805, and is of the argumentative, querulous, impractical type, so familiar in these late Mughal documents. The king asked that the former settlement should be put into effect, and added a number of detailed requests, which all tended to imply the possession of sovereignty. It was true that parts of the 1803 settlement had not been carried out, and correspondence ensued on this question without anything decisive being done. At this point Akbar decided to take advantage of Ram Mohan Roy's intended visit to England to appeal straight to the Directors. He was created a Rajah, appointed the Mughal envoy, and announced his embassy to the Government in a letter which called forth their strong

1. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Misc.), Case 1, No. 3, June 26th, 1827.

disapproval and their refusal to recognise the title.¹ The degree of their disapproval was perhaps the measure of their respect for Ram Mohan Roy's ability. In any case history has been too much for them, the title has been recognised by general consent, and has become firmly attached to the name of Ram Mohan Roy. The conferment of this title was perhaps the last really effective act of any Mughal emperor.

Ram Mohan Roy at once perceived that two separate questions had become entangled with one another, the question of finance and the question of dignity. First, what stipend was the king to enjoy and how was it to be paid and distributed; and secondly, how was the king to be regarded—as the theoretical ruler of India, to whom the Company was subject, or as a distinguished pensioner not in any way superior to the Company, but to be treated on equal terms as an act of courtesy and respect for the past? The Government's attitude to the second question had been made perfectly plain by Lord Minto in 1809; their recognition was a "complimentary recognition of a nominal sovereignty."² Ram Mohan Roy knew, as Akbar II. did not, that on the question of sovereignty the Government's determination was fixed, and a revolution would be needed to alter it; while on the question of finance they were open to argument and amenable to pressure. He, therefore, determined to use the claims of dignity as a counter with which to bargain for a satisfactory financial settlement.

His argument was founded on the admitted fact that the settlement of 1803 had never been properly put into force.³ By that settlement land west of the Jumna known as the "Assigned Territory" had been set apart for the maintenance of the royal family; a minimum stipend had been fixed independently, with the assurance that it might be increased when circumstances allowed. The case was that the income of the *mahals* had greatly increased, but had

1. *Home Misc. Series*, Vol. 708, p. 587-590.

The first letter of Ram Mohan Roy appears to have been written on 23rd February, 1825, enclosing a copy of a letter to the King of Great Britain. But evidently the design was abandoned for a time. We have next Akbar II.'s Paper of Requests in 1827, just referred to, and then another letter from Ram Mohan Roy on 8th June, 1830, announcing his appointment as Mughal envoy to the King of Great Britain, and the conferment of the title of Rajah upon him. The Calcutta Government in reply refused to recognise either the title or the embassy.

2. Quoted in Ram Mohan Roy's letter of 23rd February, 1825, para 11, Delhi Residency Records. (Misc. & Pol.), Case 1, No. 4.

3. Ram Mohan Roy's Paper of Requests, para 5 and 6, 23rd February, 1829. Delhi Residency Records. (Misc. & Pol.), Case 1, No. 5.

been accompanied by no corresponding increase of stipend, Lord Minto's increase being very small. The fact that the settlement had never yet been in force was no argument for not enforcing it now, since a settlement was a settlement. In addition the king's dignity had suffered from the treatment of Lord Amherst. The validity of this settlement was further supported by quotations from a series of regulations which recognised it.¹ Ram Mohan Roy contended that the settlement stood and that the gross produce of the *mahals* over the guaranteed minimum should go to the king. Then by way of compromise (and here we see the hand of the Rajah most clearly) he proposed that either the king should undertake "all the trouble and outlay attending the government, police, and cultivation of the territory, in question,"² or that a fixed sum should be paid in settlement of all claims. "In the latter case the present gross annual revenues of the "*mahals*" would form a proper standard, and if they do not fall short of thirty lakhs, I hereby offer to commute all my claims under the articles of convention for that yearly stipend." The rest of the paper contains characteristic Roy-like remarks and arguments—the offer to place all excess over twelve lakhs in the British Treasury as a guarantee against hoarding; the arguments that good faith will confirm loyalty, a breach of faith awake general distrust, and a final appeal to justice rather than to generosity.

Ram Mohan Roy was, in fact, prepared to give up the hopeless claim of sovereignty in return for a really generous financial settlement. Unfortunately the Mughals, shut off from reality by the limits of the palace walls, never clearly saw the issue or accepted this point of view. The result was the long drawn out and distressing sequel we must now relate.

In 1833 the Court of Directors, as the result of Ram Mohan Roy's representations, agreed to increase the stipend by three lakhs a year to a total of fifteen lakhs, on condition that all claims be given up and that the increase be distributed at the discretion of the Agent to the Governor-General³. At first, on the advice of the Rajah,

1. Ibid., para 8. (Sect. 22-25 of Reg. XI, 1804; Sect. 2, 4, Reg. VIII, 1806; Sect. 1 of Reg. XI, 1807; Sect. 3 of Reg. XI, 1806; Sect. 1 and 2, Reg. X, 1807.

2. Ibid., para 13-14.

3. Letter of Secretary to Government to the Agent of the Governor-General, Delhi, 6th June, 1833 (Delhi Residency Records, Case No. 6),

Akbar II. refused the offer¹, but later, presumably after further advice in a letter dated September 28th, 1833, he accepted the increase after all². There was a long discussion over the distribution of the proposed increase, which amounted to Rs. 25,000 a month³. The king's personal allowance, repairs and allowances to the *salaleen* were the subjects of the debate. In the course of this discussion it appeared that the total number of salaries which would be increased was 795, while 671 would receive allowances, who formerly were unprovided for⁴. The king had thirteen brothers and fourteen sisters and fourteen sons and daughters. The chief causes of friction were the amounts to be added to the personal stipend, and the detailed redistribution of the rest, and on February 1st, 1837, Akbar declined the proposed redistribution because it left nothing for himself⁵. In September Akbar died and was succeeded by Bahadur Shah, who again asked for the increase, with an extra allowance for repairs to the Palace⁶. But then he re-opened the question of the royal claims, with the result that on August 1st, 1838, he also declined the increase on the ground that he would not forego all possible claims, that nothing was added to the Privy purse, and that no separate provisions were made for repairs⁷.

In 1843⁸ Bahadur Shah once more re-opened the question, and in 1845 the accumulation of a debt of nine lakhs strengthened his case. On October 31st, 1845⁹, the Agent reported that Bahadur Shah accepted the Government's terms about claims and distribution, but desired the payment of debts and repairs to the Palace at Government expense. The Government on its side¹⁰ was now not inclined to insist on the surrender of the royal claims, so that a settlement at last appeared to be in sight. But now difficulties arose over the debts, the Agent insisting on a careful enquiry and a

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1. Letter of Agent to the Governor-General, Delhi, to the Secretary, Political Department, Calcutta, 18th July, 1833.
 2. Letter of Agent to the Governor-General, Delhi, to the Secretary, Political Department, 30th October, 1834, Case 1, No. 7.
 3. Delhi Residency Records, Case 1, No. 13 (enclosures).
 4. Delhi Residency Records, (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 13.
 5. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 14.
 6. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 15, 26th Oct., 1837.
 7. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1st August, 1838.
 8. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 30. (Despatch of the Directors 4th December, 1844, para, 22-37.)
 9. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 34.
 10. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 34.

detailed schedule¹, and the king objecting to this as an inquisition. Sir T. T. Metcalfe considered² that Hakim Ahsanullah Khan was the root of all his difficulties. The problem of distribution further complicated matters, and in March, 1849, we find the Lieutenant-Governor writing to Metcalfe³ rather irritably that the debt and Palace repairs would be paid from the undrawn increase, but no more. In May⁴ the enquiry into the debts was suspended in deference "to His Majesty's strong wishes," and the whole matter was referred to England. Characteristically the old king wrote when it was too late⁵, that he did not object to the enquiry into the debts but to the Agent's mode of "detailed inquisition."

The matter having gone back to England once more, it reposed in a pigeon hole in Leadenhall Street and nothing more is heard of the question. Three years⁶ later Bahadur Shah complained to Metcalfe that he had never had a reply from the Directors, and on September 3rd, 1852, Dalhousie closed the correspondence with the characteristically olympian half-truth that he had received no order from the Court, "His Majesty not having fulfilled the conditions upon which the offer was made."⁷

It is easy to blame all parties to the dispute in turn: the perversity of Bahadur Shah's advisers, the dictatorial methods of Sir T. T. Metcalfe, the lack of sympathy of the Lieutenant-Governor and Dalhousie, but on the whole we are compelled to admit that the ultimate failure must be attributed mainly to the continued procrastination and refusal to recognize realities of the king and his advisers. They had no idea of the mentality or the strength of the English; they were defiant when they should have been conciliatory, pliant where they should have been firm. Bahadur Shah is not to be

1. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 34. (Agent to the Governor-General, Delhi, to the Secretary, Government, N. W. P., 24th May, 1845, para 36).
2. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 46, (6th December 1848).
3. Delhi Residency Records (Pol. & Misc.), Case 1, No. 46.
4. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 46. (Lt.-Gov., N.W.P., to agent to Governor-General, Delhi, 12th March, 1849).
5. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 49. (Agent to Governor General, Delhi, to Secretary to Govt. N.W.P., 30th June, 1849).
6. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 68. (Agent to Governor-General, Delhi, to Secretary to Govt. N.W.P., 17th June, 1852).
7. Delhi Residency Records (Political and Miscellaneous), Case 1, No. 71. (Lord Dalhousie to Bahadur Shah), 3rd September, 1852.

blamed for this as much as his advisers, whose business it was to know and to manage the English. The two parties who stand out above the rest for their straightforwardness and clearsightedness are Ram Mohan Roy and the Court of Directors. But the one died and the other was too remote to affect the issue. So the opportunity of settling amicably the Mughal family's affairs was missed, and smouldering discontent based upon family pride and memories of the past was fanned by this and the Heir Apparent controversy, until it burst out into the flames of the Mutiny to the ruin of the royal family itself and lasting loss to India and the British Government. The sole outcome of all these negotiations appears to have been the repair of the Palace and the Jama Masjid and when all is considered, this was perhaps the best way in which the royal stipend money could have been spent. If the Mughal family could not live on in greatness and power, it could at least embellish the monuments of its ancient splendour,

T. G. P. SPEAR.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE SIKH KINGDOM.

Numerous books, old and new, have related the political and military history of the Panjab under Sikh rule, but none has dealt adequately with the social life of the people. An important and fascinating field lies here almost fallow. Its cultivation would be valuable in all respects but is beset with difficulties, chief of which is the paucity of clear evidence. Still, in the Panjab Government Records and in the journals of the various travellers who came to this Province in those days, one finds some remarks about the society interspersed. By putting those bits together one gets a picture, incomplete perhaps, but quite fascinating.

The Panjab of the first half of the last century was a very thinly-populated country. No regular census was ever taken, but the population was roughly estimated by Henry Lawrence¹ at fifteen lakhs, which seems to be an underestimate. Another estimate, given in a paper read before the Institute of France, gave the population of the kingdom of Lahore as three million, or double that given by Henry Lawrence². Still another estimate given in an appendix to Smythe's "History of the Reigning Family of Lahore" put the total number of the inhabitants of the Panjab, including Kashmir and Jammu, at about five millions³. Deducting from it about a million for Kashmir and Jammu we get four millions for the Panjab proper. The approximate population of the Panjab at that time may therefore probably be placed at three to four millions, or about thirty-five lakhs. The proportion of the different communities as given by H. Lawrence is : Sikhs about one-sixth of the total population, Hindus about one-half, and Muslims about one-third.⁴ In other words, Hindus and Sikhs combined were about double the number of Muslims, whereas now, after the lapse of a hundred years, the Muslims number more than 50 per cent of the total population. The Sikhs were to be found mostly in the Manjha and Malwa, though many *Sirdars* held *jagirs* throughout the Panjab, the Muslims prevailed to the westward, and the Hindus toward the east⁵. But

1. "Adventures of an Officer" by H. M. Lawrence, Second edition, Vol. I, p.84.
2. Quoted in Rev. J. Pegg's "Present State of Infanticide in India," London, 1844, p. 104.
3. Appendix, p. xxix.
4. "Adventures of an Officer," p. 84.
5. "Adventures of an Officer," the Sikhs, p. 8.

members of each community could be found in varying numbers in almost all parts of the Panjab. In the districts where the Moham-medans or Sikhs prevailed the Hindus were found as traders and shopkeepers. Even in Mohammadan districts the Sikhs were found as *Jagirdars*, and the Muslims were found in almost all parts as artisans. The Kashmiri *Pandits* were generally employed in official business.

At the top of the society were the court and the aristocracy, with which I propose to deal first. The state was essentially patriarchal and the court was filled with warriors. The Russian Prince Soltykoff, who travelled through the Panjab in Maharaja Sher Singh's time, tells us that the King in the midst of his courtiers was on equality with all the rest, a warrior like themselves, and they addressed him simply and without any ceremony¹. Hugel records an incident on a certain *Basant* day, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was sitting on a chair with all the courtiers seated around him on the ground. The Maharaja asked Zulfikar Khan, a son of the brave Muzzaffar Khan of Multan, to relate some story. The proud young man, who had come to the Raja's *Darbar* for the first time, related an anecdote without rising, and this did not cause any annoyance to Ranjit Singh². In 1831 when Captain Wade went to see the Maharaja at Adinanagar, he once found him seated in a shady spot by the canal, attended by a few *Sirdars* and a troop of about thirty dancing girls³. A picture of an old fashioned warrior, resting for a while from work and worry, but ready at any moment to jump on his horse and march to the field of battle if need be!

The aristocracy—by which is meant the new military aristocracy created by Ranjit Singh—spent their time either in war, which was often, or, if there was no war, in rough and boisterous soldierly amusements. Hunting parties were common. Raja Dhyan Singh, the Dogra minister of the Sikh Government, was probably the most celebrated of the hunters. Although the Central Panjab was full of jungles, wild beasts were rare, owing to the dryness of the climate, and *shikar* was mostly confined to smaller game which was taken

1. Voyage Dans L'Inde, by Alexis Soltykoff, Monograph No. 18, Panjab Government Records Office Publications, pp. 104 and 98.
2. Hugel's Travels, p. 341.
3. Panjab Government Records. Book 137, Letter 13, Wade to Princep, 25th May, 1831.

with the help of matchlocks, guns, dogs and hawks. For 'big game' the Dogra chief sometimes organised hunting parties towards Jammu. When the Maharaja himself went out for *shikar*, almost the whole camp moved up with him. On such occasions the number of elephants would be as large as five hundred with rich harness and brocade trappings, followed by a croud of superb horses, and a crowd of pedestrians with hawks on their wrists or perched on the head¹.

In addition to hunting there were other sports, especially *neza-bazi*, which was more common among the Mohammedan aristocracy of the Peshawar side. Sirdar Sultan Mohammed Khan, the Barakzai feudatory of the Sikh Government, was particularly fond of showing his skill in this sport. He would come galloping his horse at full speed, with a spear in his hand and discharge it through an orange set on the palm of a footman, who received no injury at all².

When the big *Sirdars* and nobles were in the towns, they divided their time between intrigues, seeing and listening to the dancing girls and drinking. This latter was a common vice of the Panjabis, especially of the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh himself in his youth was careless of appearing *masti* (drunk) in public in the company of a dancing girl, the famous Moran. Most of the bigger *Sirdars* had their domestic distilleries, where spirits were prepared according to individual tastes. After the First Sikh War the British Resident introduced *Abkari* Regulations which proved a little irksome, as the *Sirdars* could not have the spirits prepared "in their own houses, under their own superintendence, as was formerly their custom;"³ and because, as Henry Lawrence put it, the regulations were "inconvenient as obliging them all to go to the contractor and thus they thought betraying their secret."⁴ A certain volunteer, Hugo James, gives a rather quaint explanation of the drinking habit of the Sikhs. He writes, "The Sikhs abominate the tobacco leaf, which they say would defile them were they to smoke it, but though debarred this luxury they make up for it in the drinking line."⁵ The explanation may be wrong, but the fact remains that the Sikh *Sirdars* and soldiers had a partiality for

1. Soltykoff, R. O. P., Monograph No. 18, p. 101.

2. Mohan Lal, p. 326.

3. P. G. R. Vol. IV (Lahore Political Diaries), p. 437: R. G. Taylor's Diary dated 17th January, 1848, Camp Lundee beyond Peshawar.

4. P. G. R. Vol. III, p. 250. H. Lawrence's Diary, dated 9th August, 1847.

5. Scrambles through Sindh and the Panjab, by H. James, p. 192.

spirituous liquors and moderation was certainly not one of their virtues.

The king's wine was prepared under official supervision, and we are told by Prince Soltykoff that every bottle was signed and sealed by the minister in whose presence it was prepared. The exact quantities of rubies, emeralds, pearls, diamonds and gold employed were given in the recipe. These precious stones were considered an *aphrodisiac* and anybody who could afford to take them did so.¹ The spirits for general use were extracted from molasses and *babool*. The juice of grapes was not used for making wine anywhere in India except in Kashmir, where Forster tasted it in 1786 and described it as resembling Madeira.²

Dancing girls provided another diversion. Ranjit Singh had a whole regiment of young girls in his *seraglio*, whom he sometimes ordered to mount on horse back for his amusement.³ And then there were the mountebanks or *bharupias* who, to some extent, kept alive the art of make-up. Maharaja Sher Singh was particularly fond of them⁴.

The dancing girls, who were of course courtesans also, were found in almost all the towns and especially in those which happened to be cantonments. In the small fort of Rohtas, for example, fifty out of four hundred houses were occupied by them⁵. In Amritsar, their number was about six hundred, all of whom were Mohammedans⁶. The soldiers, military officers and big *Sirdars* were their patrons. A traveller, Munshi Mohan Lal, observed in 1832, that at Peshawar *Sirdar* Sultan Mohd. Khan Barakzai was generally surrounded by these girls and was always decked in splendid and precious robes, on account of which he was called, by Amir Dost Mohd. Khan of Kabul, 'Sultan Bibi'.⁷

The great *Sirdars*, both Muslims, Sikhs and Rajputs, led generally a more or less dissolute life. Henry Lawrence particularly

1. Soltykoff Monograph No. 18 (P.G.R.O.P.) p. 96; also Hugel, p. 208.

2. Hugel, p. 100, footnote.

3. Jacquemont, p. 397; also Book 137, Letter 13. Wade to Princep, 25th May, 1831, P. G. R.; also Monograph No. 18, p. 54.

4. Soltykoff, Government Records Office Publications. Monograph No 18, p. 89.

5. Mohan Lal, p. 25 (1832).

6. Census of Amritsar taken by Bowring in 1848, P.G.R.

7. Mohan Lal, p. 39.

condemned the Sikhs, perhaps a little unjustly. "There probably is not a more dissolute race on the face of the earth," he wrote, and he ascribed the smallness of their numbers to their mode of living¹. Considering the fact that the Sikhs of the nineteenth century were a virile race, one may be tempted to doubt Henry Lawrence's judgment, yet one cannot but feel that there must be much truth in his statement in view of the numerous instances of lapse between 1815 and 1845 in the Protected Sikh States on account of failure of heirs. The first Administration Report refers to the same fact and comes to the same conclusion². But the failure of heirs cannot altogether be explained by this factor. Not only Henry Lawrence but almost all foreigners, who visited or lived in the Punjab, formed a very low estimate of the standard of morality that prevailed here. In considering the opinions of such foreigners, one must remember that they had chances to observe only a particular kind of life, namely the life in bigger towns which lay on the main roads and in the military camps. A constant stream of foreign invasions and the consequent anarchy and plunder had produced among the town-dwellers of the Panjab a reckless and care-free philosophy of life, the outward manifestations of which were a love of military life, hunting and drinking parties and dancing girls. The people had become fatalistic and desperate and their maxim was "Eat and drink, for tomorrow ye die." But even this was confined to the richer classes and the soldiers, who were no more immoral or dissolute than rich people or soldiers of the twentieth century. The mass of the people living in the country led orderly and sober lives. Synthe, Sir J. Malcolm and other writers of the time were of the opinion that the conduct of the Panjabis with regard to women and marital ties was very lax³. It seems that the area of observation of these writers also was very much limited. There are numerous cases on record, in the Protected Sikh States and the Panjab proper, of murders of women for petty infidelities. In one case a young man murdered even his mother, because by her love intrigues she was, as he thought, cutting the nose of the family. In another case a tailor of Peshawar killed his wife and her lover, when he surprised them in

1. *Adventures of an Officer*, Vol. I, p. 58.

2. *Administration Report, 1849-50*, p. 101.

3. See Smythe's "Ruling Families" Appendix, p. iv., giving also the opinion of Malcolm.

his own house, and brought their heads to Sultan Mohd. Khan, who praised the intrepidity of the tailor¹. The first Administration Report states: "The men of the Panjab regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties²." I believe that there is enough evidence to show that the people of the Panjab had a high sense of sexual morality. It is rather hard to reconcile with this belief the prevalence of a low standard which many contemporary writers would have us believe. If they found license in court and camp, there is no reason to believe that the moral life of the whole nation was impure. There is much truth in the charge of dissoluteness among the Sikh soldiers. The rise of the Sikhs was to some extent the result of a spirit of revolt against the ascetic manners of the Hindus and the influence of this spirit was bound to spread over the life of the times. A moral revolt is always apt to answer extravagance with extravagance, and the Sikh of the nineteenth century was sometimes dissolute out of bravado. Moreover, it is generally recognized that great art flourishes in societies where conventional morality is not strict. The fact that the Sikh period is marked by an almost total lack of any great art (having flourished) is also evidence in some measure of the prevalence of a code of strict conventional morality. Soltykoff was perhaps the only foreigner who did not form a low estimate of Sikh morality for he says, "Everything is formal here, as if one were in a convent³."

The Towns.—Lahore: The townspeople of the Panjab were a cheerful race. They lived in houses of brick, generally unburnt brick, fronting a labyrinth of narrow, irregular streets, wayward as sheep tracks. The streets of Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, were no better than those of other towns. The narrowness of streets was a common feature of Panjab towns, except in Wazirabad, where Avitabile, when governor of that place, had rebuilt the town in European style, pulling down the old bazar and widening the streets⁴. This set a good example, which was followed by Fattch Singh Ahluwalia, who built a beautiful bazar with wide streets in Kapurthala⁵. But the

1. Mohan Lal, p. 40.

2. Administration Report, 1849-50, p. 67.

3. Soltykoff, Monograph No. 18, p. 98.

4. Hugel, p. 251. Also P. G. R. Political Diaries, Vol. VI., p. 2., being Diary of Lt. R. G. Taylor.

5. Hugel, p. 39.

streets of Lahore remained as narrow and filthy as of old¹. A person passing through these fantastically crooked streets not only saw but smelt Lahore. All accounts are unanimous about the filthy condition of the town, a tradition which it faithfully maintains today. The streets of Peshawar and even Jhelum were cleaner than those of Lahore². A traveller, Hugo James, wrote, "Lahore is a large but filthy city, all or most of the streets being so extremely narrow that scarcely three people can perambulate abreast through them, whilst a person on horse back can, with great difficulty just manage to ride through these little alleys; and when once the lane is entered the hardy equestrian is forced to proceed as the narrowness of the street will not permit his horse to turn round³."

Sadhus and Fakirs.—Lahore, though dirty, was quite prosperous under the Sikh sovereigns. Its prosperity was due to the camp and the court⁴, as today it is due to the students. Its prosperity attracted many *fakirs* and *sadhus*, and in the evening one could see half-naked *fakirs* wandering in the streets, smeared with ashes, their faces variously painted, some covered with a tiger or panther skin and with fantastic turbans with feathers in them, but all indescribably dirty⁵. These *fakirs*, whom Hugel describes as "athletic fellows," swarmed the country, and in Lahore, we are told, they "literally infested the streets and public thoroughfares, many of them stalking along almost in a state of nudity⁶." From all accounts, these *sadhus* and *fakirs* were a rascally set. They wandered from place to place trying to induce superstitious boys to join their fraternity "by promises of teaching them the chemistry and art of making gold⁷." These people, though perennial beggars, extorted extra money from people on special occasions like the lunar eclipse, fairs, etc. Hugo James is especially hard on them. He writes: "Frequent cases have come to the knowledge of the authorities where these rascals made it a point to harbour and protect individuals who, having offended against the established laws of their country, were obliged to conceal themselves

1. Mohan Lal, p. 11, also Soltykoff Monograph No. 18, p. 100.

2. Mohan Lal, p. 37, and Hugel, p. 247.

3. A Volunteer's Scramble through Sindh, the Panjab and Hindustan, p. 257.

4. Lawrence's Adventures, Vol. I, p. 214.

5. Soltykoff, P. G. R. Monograph No. 18, p. 100.

6. Hugel, p. 62.

7. Hugo James, p. 264.

8. Mohan Lal, p. 17-18.

in some secure retreat until the police had given over all further search¹." He adds, "Many a cruel murder, plots against the Government and a variety of other lawless machinations have been nurtured in the dark abodes of these hypocritical saints. The beauty of it is that these fellows, who, the people imagine to exist almost on nothing but prayers, are generally the wealthiest of men in India, living in a most luxurious state of wealth, maintaining a host of attendants and being extremely assiduous in the promotion of their worldly affairs²."

During the day time, the place would be humming with life—the cries of *fakirs*, the shoutings of the people, the soldiers and the children. But there was nothing of what we call night life. With the approach of darkness, the whole city would be hushed into silence, with the exception of certain areas. These areas would be lighted up and become centres of gaiety. These were the streets in which the windows and balconies were full of dancing girls and courtesans, "brilliant with gold and precious stones and making gestures of welcome³," the streets full of a motley crowd, but especially soldiers, direct from the *Kātal Khana* and consequently a little shaky on their legs, joking, singing and perhaps quarrelling. These revelries and brawls would continue till about midnight.

The Women.—The condition of Panjabi women was much as it was, say, twenty years ago. A daughter was considered a liability, especially among the higher castes of Hindus, and consequently the number of females was smaller than that of males. For illustration's sake, let us make the figures for Amritsar, "the most bustling of all the cities of the Panjab⁴!". These figures are according to a census of the place taken by Mr. Bowring in 1848⁵, but they cannot be far from the truth for Ranjit Singh's time.

The number of men, women and children of different communities is given as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Hindus.	17,125	14,478	11,579	43,182 ..
Sikhs.	3,076	2,360	1,898	7,334
	20,201	16,838	13,477	50,516
Muslims.	13,751	14,362	14,162	42,275

1. Hugo James, p. 264.

3. Soltykoff, Monograph, 1.

2. *Ibid.* p. 264.

4. Hugel, p. 393 No. 18, p. 10.

5. Resident's Correspondence, No. 46, 1849, P.G.R.

Subtracting from this 895, the number of dancing girls who were all Mohammedans, we have Muslim men 18,751, women 18,767, still a small excess of women over men.

A further examination and analysis of the number of Sikhs is still more illuminating :—

	Men	Women.	Children.	Total.
Hindu Sikhs.	2,996	2,264	1,808	7,064
Sikhs converted from Islam.	81	96	94	270

Among the Hindus, therefore, we find a low sex ratio, the lowest being amongst the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Aroras showed an excess of females over males. Thus we find a paucity of females only amongst the upper class Hindus. This was due to many causes. As already noted, the girls were considered a liability¹, female babies were neglected with the result that female infant mortality was high. Infanticide of females was also practised to some extent though it was confined chiefly to the priestly class of *Bedis*, and to some higher sects of Mussalmans.² The Administration Report of 1849 points out that whereas in Hindustan and Central India the cause of female infanticide was inability to pay a dowry, here in the Panjab, it was the pride of their order and the supposed sanctity of their caste which made them unwilling to give their daughters in marriage.³ Also as pointed out by Gibbon, the custom of female infanticide was "due not to a vicious and callous nature, but to that caste pride to which so many of India's woes must be ascribed".⁴ Though the custom prevailed in a limited circle, it was very deeply rooted, and on the Panjab passing into British hands, the authorities found it rather hard to abolish it. John Lawrence sent for the priest and head of the *Bedis* and ordered him to issue a proclamation forbidding his followers to slay their children. The old man replied that all he possessed was at the disposal of the *Sahib* but comply he could not. "Obey or give up your lands," was the commissioner's alternative and the chief of the *Bedis* chose the latter course.⁵

1. Cf. Pegg, p. 35-37, op. cit.

2. Administration Report, 1849, p. 64. Cf. also Diary of Mr. A. H. Cocks Lahore Political Diaries Vol VI, p. 426, regarding *Bedis*.

3. *Ibid.* See also J. Pegg's "Infanticide in India," p. 31.

4. The Lawrences of the Panjab (J. M. Dent & Co., 1908), by F. P. Gibbon, p. 123.

5. The Lawrences of the Panjab, Gibbon, p. 124.

It may not be out of place here to remark that this low sex ratio among the Panjabi Hindus still continues, as is shown by the Age of Consent Committee in their Report (1928-29). They write that there is a regular traffic in girls in several provinces of India. Many of the girls are sent to the Panjab, where demand is great owing to the paucity of girls¹. Leaving numbers apart, the condition of Hindu and Muslim women was almost the same. *Pardah* was prevalent among the middle and higher orders of all the communities, but more so among Mohammedans. The *pardah* system is not in keeping with the Hindu tradition, and there is evidence to show that the Hindus began concealing their women-folk since the Mohammedan invasion. By the time of Ranjit Singh *pardah* had spread so much that the pretty courtesans were the only females to be seen in the Panjab towns². In the villages of course, strict *pardah* was not possible owing to economic reasons and it was possible for a traveller to note the beauty of the women of Rachna and Chaj Doabs. One of them tells us that the women of Saharan a village eleven miles from Ramnagar and of Biki, another village twenty-one miles from Ramnagar towards Jhelum, were famous for their beauty. "Their language," he writes, "is sweet and mild." The beautiful women of Darapur on the Jhelum were, however, not so mild, for we are told that "they had the power to control their husbands rather than obey them."³ The women of our province were especially reputed throughout India for the delicacy of their hands and feet and the whiteness of their teeth⁴. I am not sure whether they still enjoy the reputation. We are told that they used the bark of a certain tree called *Deobasa* to clean the teeth and redden the gums.⁵ There are numerous incidents to show that *pardah* was not so strict among the Hindus. Munshi Mohan Lal, who was in Peshawar on a certain Baisakhi day, tells us that thousands of Hindu women took a bath in the pond near the Temple of Gorakhnath. He adds that several Mohammedans, both of rank and low classes, were laughing and joking with each other at seeing the Hindu women bathing openly.⁶

1. Age of Consent Committee's Report, 1928-29, p. 34.

2. Soltykoff (P. G. R. O. P.) Monograph No. 18, p. 104.

3. Mohan Lal, pp. 19, 21, 25.

4. Hugel, pp. 57, 60, 344.

5. Hugel, p. 67.

6. Mohan Lal, p. 48.

We learn from H. Edwardes' diary that some Khatranis of Pind Dadan Khan were in the habit of bathing naked in the river Jhelum without clothes or screens. But the *Kardar* of that place put a stop to this practice of the cult of nudism by asking their husbands to forbid their wives to do so¹. Bathing nude was, however, a common practice with the women of our province².

There are numerous cases of Sikh and Hindu women of the upper classes having mixed in men's society and taken an important part in public affairs. The instances of Daya Kaur, Sada Kaur, Chand Kaur and Rani Jind Kaur come to one's mind at once. Rani Jindan, though usually wrapped in a *chadar*, unveiled herself on occasions. There is a delightful instance of such an occasion in 1845. The Sikh soldiers of Lahore had not received their pay for some months and they decided to go in a body to the fort where the minor, Maharaja Dalip Singh was, and demand the arrears from the Council of Regency. Their attitude when they reached the fort was so menacing that the members of the Council dared not come out to face them. Jindan, like a Queen Christina, came out to meet them. She unveiled herself and made such a persuasive little speech that the soldiers went away charmed by the beauty of her face and the sweetness of her voice³.

Literacy.—A very remarkable and altogether unsuspected feature was the existence of literacy among the women of our province. The Administration Report says⁴. "It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Panjab. The girls and the teachers (also female) belong to all of the three great tribes, namely Hindu, Mussalman and Sikh . . ." "The existence of such an education almost unknown in India, is an encouraging circumstance." Perhaps this is what explains the numerous references in the old Panjabi love songs of the heroine writing letters to her lover. There were, of course, schools for the boys too. These schools were private dwellings, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed or the court yard of a temple. The Mussalman schools

1. H. Edwardes diary. Cf. also Barr's Journal of a March from Delhi to Kabul, p. 62. He saw, in a village near the Sutlej, a party of grown-up women bathing themselves in a pond without a single article of covering on.
2. Barr's Journal. Op. cit. p. 62.
3. Broadfoot to Government, 1845 ?
4. 1849-50, para 376,

were nearly all connected with the village mosque¹. The system of such an education, though rough, was pleasantly intimate. The teacher knew each scholar whom he or she taught with real parental love, which however did not exclude the use of the rod. At present too the proportion of female literacy is higher in this province than in the contiguous provinces and states such as the North West Frontier Province, Rajputana Agency, Jammu and Kashmir State and the United Provinces, though it is less than that in the presidencies and provinces with a large urban population, like Delhi². The remuneration of the teachers consisted frequently of presents, grain and sweetmeats given by the scholars and their parents³. The scholars also did little jobs for the teacher. Apart from this literary education, which consisted mostly of the study of religious or semi-religious books, education in craftsmanship and vocation was taught from father to son. It was not, of course, considered necessary for royalty of either sex to learn the three R's and the theory that Ranjit Singh could write his name has yet to be proved.

Slavery and Slave Trade.—Slavery of women was a common feature of the Panjab of those times. When the Sikhs rose to power, and Ranjit Singh created a feudal aristocracy of his own, it was necessary to endow them with all the external characteristics of the Mohammedan nobility of the Mughal kings. The new aristocracy had their gaudy retinues, their city residences gay with equipages and visitors, their country seats and villas. It required only the introduction of harems and slave girls to complete the picture. Hence a custom grew up of presenting the big *Sirdars* with slave girls⁴. Jacquemont tells us that Ranjit himself had a numerous collection of the greatest beauties of Kashmir⁵. There must have been a regular traffic in girls from Kashmir and other places, for we know that the harems of the aristocracy were kept well supplied. Those engaged in this traffic either bought girls or stole them and brought them up. Child stealing

1. Administration Report 1849-50, para 376.

2. Census of India, 1931. Vol XVII. Punjab Part I, Report p. 261.

3. Administration report 1849-50, 50-51, para 376.

4. Four female slaves were brought from Bikaner in 1845 and they were intended as a present for Jawahar Singh, the uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh. They were seized at Sirsa by the British authorities, P. G. R. Book No. 90, Letter 129.

5. Jacquemont, p. 396.

was quite common in the hilly tracts¹. When pretty girls could be sold at attractive prices, it is most unlikely that parents in the hills would resort to female infanticide. A girl in the hills was considered an asset and could generally be sold at from thirty to forty rupees. Exceptionally beautiful girls could fetch up to a hundred and eighty rupees². Thus it was that any little Kashmir girl who promised to turn out pretty was kidnapped or bought and exported to the Panjab or other parts of India, thereby denuding Kashmir of beautiful faces. That is why the foreign travellers found the females of Kashmir very ugly, and one of them humorously wrote : " I know no country on earth where so many witches could be enlisted for Macbeth, if Shakespeare had chosen to introduce a hundred thousand instead of only three³." In addition to the slaves of the *harems*, most of the female servants of the Panjab were also slaves. But these servants were treated tolerably well and their condition was hardly worse than that of their mistresses in the *harems*⁴. An intelligent and clever slave girl could always improve her condition considerably. There is the case of the slave girl Mangla, who played a somewhat important part in the numerous *Darbar* intrigues before the First Sikh War⁵. She raised herself almost to the position of a Private Secretary of Rani Jindan and anybody who wished to obtain a favour from Her Highness had first to placate Mangla.

Sati.—The custom of *Sati* was very ancient in the Panjab. It was well established here in the fourth century, B.C., at the time of Alexander's invasion. It continued throughout the Hindu period, but the Muslim rulers of the Panjab and Delhi, especially the Moghals discouraged it as best they could⁶, so much so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century *satis* were very rare in our province. The most curious thing about it is that the Sikh ruling families should have

1. H. Lawrence, *Adventures*, Vol. I, p. 150.

2. Jacquemont, p. 65. His figures are 50 to 60 francs for an ordinary girl and up to 300 francs for the best girl.

3. Jacquemont, Vol. II, p. 74.

4. *Ibid.* p. 65

5. Cf. Smythes *Secret History* of the Lahore ruling families, Chap. XII, especially from page 160 to 167.

6. Edward Thompson, " *Suttee*," p. 57. }

adopted the custom, notwithstanding the fact that the third of their *Gurus*, Amar Das, had condemned it¹.

The explanation probably lies in the fact that, when the Sikhs became rulers of the Panjab, they adopted the rite because it was considered a necessary appendage to regal and princely castes. Moreover, in the words of Edward Thompson, "A chieftain's women were toys and dolls, just as truly as the women of the Moghal's harem. Chosen for their physical loveliness, they were moths, who led a twilight existence that ended in the bewildering pomp that brought them to the flame²." One need not explain the custom among the Hindus, as, according to their doctrines of sociology and religion, the husband stands to the wife in the place of the Deity.

Sati was of various kinds. Firstly, *Sahmran* or burning with the corpse of the husband. Secondly, *Anumaran*, or immolation with the ashes or remains, e.g., clothes, swords, etc., of the Lord. And thirdly *Ma sati* or mother sati, burning with the corpse of the son³.

Allard once saw a *Sati* at Lahore: "The procession in which she walked made a terrible uproar, but the *Sati* seemed to have retained all her composure. She lay down herself on the pyre and removed her ornaments which she distributed among those round her, and when she had finished, she picked out the most comfortable position, getting up several times to alter the position of logs and wood which were not comfortable. When she was at her ease, she let herself be covered carefully with more logs. Then they threw a quantity of oil on the pyre in which she had buried herself and when fire was applied, it blazed with such violence that she must have been suffocated at once⁴."

Four *Ranis* and five slave girls, including the famous "Lotus," burnt themselves with the body of Ranjit Singh. The British Government conveyed their horror to the Lahore Government through their agent, Mr. Clerk. *Rani Isar Kaur* burnt unwillingly—if Lepel Griffin

1. They are not Suttees who perish in the flames. O Nanak! Suttees are those who die of a broken heart.
The loving wife perishes with the body of her husband. But were her thoughts bent upon God her sorrows would be alleviated. (Amar Das, *Adi Granth*, Rag Suhij).
2. Sutte, E. Thompson, p. 46.
3. H. A. Rose, Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab. Quoted by E. Thompson in Sutte, p. 38.
4. Political and Social State of Northern India in 1830. Jacquemont's Journal in Northern India. Translation in Monograph No. 18. (P. G. R. O. publications), p. 55-56.

is to be believed—at the pyre of Maharaja Kharak Singh. Two wives burnt with Naunihal Singh next day. *Sati* was performed again in 1843 at the death of Maharaja Sher Singh. Raja Dhyan Singh was murdered the same day. But his widow and thirteen slave girls did not commit *sati* till Hira Singh brought the head of his father's slayer and laid it at the feet of his step-mother¹. A slave girl aged ten years begged to be included and was allowed.

A lady who was pregnant or had young children to bring up was not expected to become a *Sati*. But if a lady of rank who "being neither pregnant nor having children to nurture declined immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her lord," she lost her precedence and a share in the government of her late husband's estate². This rule obtained in the hills.

A prospective *Sati* was considered noble and sacred and endowed with powers of prophecy just before immolation. In September, 1845, at the murder of Jawahar Singh, the brother of *Rani* Jindan, when four of his wives were about to perform *sati*, Jindan went and got their blessings. So did Diwan Dina Nath and Maharaja Dalip Singh, all of whom prostrated themselves before the prospective *Satis* and obtained their blessings. While those ladies were being conducted from the fort to the burning *ghat*, they were plundered of all their ornaments by the Sikh soldiers. The *Satis* on the pile blessed the Maharaja, the *Rani* and Diwan Dina Nath, but cursed the Sikh *Panth*. They prophesied that during that year, the independence of the Panjab would cease, the Sikhs would be conquered, the wives of the Sikh soldiers be widowed and the country desolated, but the *Rani* and her son would live long, and the Maharaja continue to reign³. This prophecy, if authentic, was fulfilled.

Village Life.—Although Indian civilization and culture has since very early times been mainly urban, a vast majority of people have always lived in the villages. In the Punjab, traditions of war and rapine showed themselves in the narrow streets of the towns, and outside the towns in the form of the village, with narrow winding

1. Smythe's *op. cit.* p. 85.

2. Book 18, Letter 64. Lt. Ross to C. T. Metcalfe, Resident Delhi, 6th November, 1815.

3. Broadfoot to F. Currie, Secretary to Government of India, 26th September, 1845. Book No. 167. Letter 36, p. 316-19. P.G.R.

lanes, the population crowded within the smallest possible area. In some of the submontane tracts of the Panjab, tiled houses were taboo and in some Mohammedan villages it was a rule that a house was not to be built until the village mosque was finished¹. The village people, therefore, lived in mud houses. A brick house in the village would be probably that of the *Bania*. But in spite of their mud-houses and insanitary living, the country people were stronger and healthier than perhaps they are today. Work in the field and plenty of food helped to keep them healthy. The villages, which were autonomous units, had a very simple organization. Almost everybody was engaged in agriculture, with the exception of the Brahmin who made known the lucky or unlucky days for seed time—a smith and a carpenter, the potter, the barber, who was a luxury, but performed sundry other services connected with marriages; and here and there a poet, who would sometimes be the schoolmaster also. These few individuals were maintained at the expense of the community. The rest worked in the fields and did a little spinning and weaving at home. The only link with the outside world was provided by the Government *Kardar*, or the tax-gatherer and the *Bania*, who bought the surplus produce if there was any of the village for export, and brought in such things as were not produced in the village. Another link was the wandering holy man who would occasionally settle in a village for a few months and tell tales of the wonderful places he had visited. And then there were the soldiers who returned to their homes every year before Dusehra with their pockets full of money which they had saved, and their heads full of gossip and politics.

For irrigation the people depended on rain, wells worked by Persian wheels, and canals, the latter chiefly in Multan Province. There Diwan Sawan Mal had dug no less than fifteen canals, covering a length of about 325 miles and irrigating lands of about four hundred and ten villages.² The share of the state in the shape of revenue, though in theory assumed to be one-half of the produce, varied in practice from two-fifths to one-third of the gross produce. In Multan and the trans-Indus possessions of the Sikhs it was even less,

1. "The House in India" from the point of view of sociology and folklore by W. Crooke, *Folklore*, Vol. XXIX, June, 1918, p. 116.
2. Administration Report, 1849-50, p. 81.

and never exceeded one-third. It usually averaged one-fourth or one-fifth and sometimes fell even lower to one-eighth of the crop. Moreover, a large portion of what the State got came back to the villages. As the first Administration Report describing the Panjab under Sikh rule states :—"The Government gave back with one hand what it had taken with the other. The employees of the State were very numerous, every *jat* village sent recruits for the army, who again remitted their savings to their homes. Many a highly-taxed village paid half its revenue from its military earnings¹." Again the presence of a vast body of consumers created an immense demand for manufactured commodities. Prices were quoted high, the market was brisk and thus the commercial interests bore up against their load of taxation². The village folk still used hand-spun and coarse cloth, but by the end of Ranjit Singh's reign British cotton and piece-goods were beginning to penetrate especially in the villages about the bigger towns.

Agriculture was carried on by primitive methods, though the rotation of crops was known³. No great care was paid to manuring and a very useful manure like cow-dung was burnt as fuel⁴.

Doaba Bist Jullundhur was, on account of its situation with respect to the hills and other natural advantages, the Mecca of the agriculturists, and the farmers on both sides of the Sutlej were very wealthy. So was the area about Peshawar. In Multan also agriculture flourished on account of the numerous canals dug by the *Diwans*. But the area round about the salt mines was poor in agriculture on account of the uneven nature of the ground⁵. So poor indeed were the husbandmen of this area that they often sold their daughters and sometimes even sons to make both ends meet⁶. Though the people of this tract, mostly ill-paid miners, working in the salt mines, were poor, the State derived considerable revenue from this part. Ranjit Singh had prohibited the manufacture of salt in all parts of his dominions, thus making salt a monopoly of the state, which was sometimes farmed out. About eight lakhs of

1. *Ibid*, p. 11.

2. *Ibid*, p. 11.

3. *Ibid*, p. 6.

4. *Ibid*, p. Also Mohan Lal.

5. Mohan Lal, p. 24.

6. Mohan Lal, p. 24.

Panjab maunds per year were extracted and sold at two rupees per maund. Only a lakh and a half were spent in working the mincral and the workers were paid a rupee for every twenty maunds of salt brought to the surface, a task which, according to Alexander Burnes' estimate, could be performed by a man, his wife and a child in two days¹. Thus a man, his wife and a child working all together would earn eight annas per day. The work in the mines gave the workers a most unhealthy complexion, but they were not known to be subject to any particular disease. Leaving aside this area, which was an exception, one may say that, as a rule, the people lived a contented and happy life, with plenty of food and good health.

Travel and Commerce.—Travelling in the Panjab, though not very common, was quite safe and, if Hugel is to be believed, the Panjab in Ranjit Singh's time was safer than even Hindustan under the British rule². Beyond Rawalpindi, it was by no means safe, and Burnes on his first mission to Afghanistan had to change his dress, reduce his baggage so as to look a poor man and call himself Sikandar Khan. His Hindu attendant called himself Hassan Jan³. There were numerous *serais* on the main road where the traveller could shelter for the night. For example, between Lahore and Ferozepur, a distance of about fifty miles, there were enclosed *serais* at the following places: Ganda Singh Wala, Kasur, Lalliani and Kana Kacha.⁴ On the Imperial Road from Delhi to Kabul there were *serais* built by the Mughal kings at a distance of every six *kos*, but they were now in a very bad state of repair⁵. In the Peshawar District such sheltering places, called *hujras*, were very commonly used by strolling vagabonds as well as genuine travellers⁶. In addition to these *serais* the Hindus and Sikhs could always resort to the temple and the *dharamsala* and the Muslims to the mosque. Sometimes when there was no *dharamsala*, the Sikhs also used the mosque for shelter⁷.

For the means of travel, one had first of all one's own feet, or a

1. "Account of the Salt Mines of the Panjab," article by A. Burnes in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, 1832, p. 147.

2. Hugel, p. 316.

3. Mohan Lal, p. 20.

4. Lahore Resident's correspondence, 1849. Proceedings No. 283-90.

5. Hugel, pp. 188, 200, 217, 226, 245.

6. Resident's correspondence, W. P. 393, P. G. R.

7. Hugel, 204.

horse, a camel or a *dolie*. The women of the richer classes generally used *dolies*, and *palanquins*¹, and the men elephants and horses, but sometimes even men travelled in *dolies*. Jacquemont wrote, "India is the Utopia of social order for the aristocracy, in Europe the poor carry the rich on their shoulder ; but it is only metaphorically, here it is without figure. Instead of workers and consumers, or governed and governors—the subtle distinction of European politics—in India there are only the carried and the carrying, which is much clearer²."

There were almost no bridges over the rivers and *nalas*, which had to be crossed on boats, inflated skins, on elephants, or, if possible, on foot³. The new bridges that existed were in a wretched condition and the Government never cared either to repair them or to post sentinels to keep watch over them⁴. By a "road" was generally meant a mere broad path, and that not always, for sometimes it was a mere beaten track found with difficulty⁵. It was the policy of the state not to construct good roads, and Ranjit Singh once remarked that if he constructed good roads he would be making it easier for his enemies to advance against him⁶.

Merchandise was carried on mules and camels. Long strings of loaded camels slowly moving in a line, with little bells tinkling from their necks were the real goods-trains of that age. The merchants who accompanied them were always armed, and those who came from the West were a remarkable class. As the Administration Report puts it : "Having to pass through defiles tenanted by the most savage and ferocious tribes, they are armed to the teeth : and bear about them marks of many a conflict. With the most amazing perseverance they travel over half the length of Asia and exchange the products of Tartary, Kabul and Tibet for the commodities of Europe at the quays and marts of Calcutta⁷."

The people of our province were quite accustomed to seeing these traders and their caravans, but the sight of a European was a

1. Book No. 47, Letter No. 10, 19, 23. N. W. F. Agency correspondence. A large number of *dolies* and *palanquins* were arranged for the travel of the family of Shah Shuja.

2. Jacquemont, p. 195.

3. Mohan Lal, p. 34.

4. Hugel, pp. 193, 227.

5. Hugel, p. 238.

6. Hugel, p. 326.

7. Administration Report, 1849-50, p. 7.

luxury and a rarity. When such a traveller approached a town, the younger and the lazier inhabitants would gather round him and make such remarks as they deemed appropriate to the occasion, and which if translated would not be quite pleasing to the *Sahibs*. A shout of *Farangi ho* was enough to bring the people out of their shops and houses to look at the newcomers, who were greeted with words like "monkeys" and other worse epithets¹. The word *Farangi*, though gone into disuse now, was for a very long time loaded with all the hatred and contempt which the Indians felt against the white intruders of Europe. Such was especially the case in the Sikh Governments' territories beyond the Indus, where the preponderatingly Mohammedan race looked upon the Empire as their heritage and hated every dynasty except their own and regarded the British as the worst, "because the most powerful of usurpers"². Almost every one was armed in the Panjab³, and the people were brave and fearless. They were curious like other Indians to see the white men, but they had not that slavish veneration for the European which made the people of other parts of Hindustan, on the approach of a foreigner, stand on one side, or take off their shoes and say *salaam* or *Ram Ram*⁴.

Customs, Superstitions, etc.—The Panjabis of the Sikh times were superstitious, religious and tolerant. In the case of Hindus religion had come to mean no more than a matter of forms and ceremonies, and consequently, as Cunningham points out, Brahmanism and Buddhism no longer inspired their votaries with enthusiasm⁵. Mohammedanism was also becoming corrupted and the grave of many a holy mortal became a place of pilgrimage. But a Muslim was "still actively desirous of acquiring merit by adding to the number of true believers"⁶. He found a field for such activities among what Cunningham calls the "debased" classes (the Harijans of today), to whose spiritual needs the Brahmins refused to minister. The most zealous from the religious point of view were the Sikhs. Their faith was still an active and living principle, in fact more living than it ever had been. It was the hour of their triumph,

1. Mohan Lal, p. 35 and 45.

2. Administration Report, p. 6.

3. Soltykoff, ?

4. *Ibid.*

5. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*

and a crusading spirit pervaded the whole Khalsa. Every Sikh believed in a great future in which the Khalsa had to achieve still greater triumphs. This desire and hope, which looked like being realized in the near future, was every morning expressed by the Sikhs in those significant words which followed the *Ardas* :—

Raj kare ga Khalsa, yaki rahe nam ko.

That is, the Khalsa shall rule and no enemies shall remain. The spirit of these words is almost identical with that of the words in the national anthem of the English, "Britons never shall be slaves."

Sikhism had arisen as a protest and a revolt against the defeatist, fatalistic and non-aggressive philosophy of the Hindus. It was natural therefore that Sikhism should embody in itself most of the externals which Hinduism tabooed. Their drinking, their prohibition against smoking, their growing of beards, their swash buckling activities, the compulsory carrying of a kirpan were the external manifestation of that spirit which was a revolt against all the standards of weakness represented by Hindus.

But in spite of this, it is to the great credit of the Sikh Government, at least during the reign of Ranjit Singh, that the religious policy of the State was one of toleration. There were only two exceptions to this policy; Mohammedans were not allowed to cry the *Azan*, and they were not allowed to kill the cow. With those exceptions anybody could follow any religion, and the profession of any particular religion was neither a bar nor a qualification for government service. To inculcate this spirit in others, the Maharaja himself set an example, and in addition to Amritsar, he paid devotion at the tombs of several Mohammedan saints, and Jacquemont tells us that such pilgrimages did not offend the puritans of his own sect¹. There were many saints common to both Hindus and Muslims and communal riots, as we know them today, were rare. Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs lived at peace.

On the Frontier, perhaps, Hindus suffered occasional oppression, but by industry and knowledge of accounts the Hindu Banias had made themselves almost indispensable to the indolent and ignorant Pathans². They had much the same position among the Afghans as

1. Jacquemont, p. 399.

2. P. G. R. Vol. V, H. B. Edwardes' diaries, p. 208.

the Jews used to have in England. They were tolerated because they were necessary, but were handicapped by certain minor disabilities. For example Herbert Edwardes tells us that in Bannu they were not allowed to wear a turban and were "consequently obliged to trust their skulls to a small round cap which must be a poor defence against the proverbial strength of the Bannu sun¹.

All the communities were fond of celebrating their festivals and holding fairs. The Royal Court itself celebrated certain auspicious days. At Basant, for example, the whole court moved out to the *smadh* of Madho Lal Hussain². Here the Maharaja's troops, dressed in *basanti* (yellow) uniforms, stood on both sides of the road, forming a regular lane to salute the King. The Maharaja apparelled in *basanti* dress would pass through this lane accompanied by his Indian and European officers, and proceed towards the royal tents, made of yellow silk and richly ornamented with pearls, etc.³ At *diwali* the whole town, the fort and royal houses were illuminated. In 1847 a British officer observed that the houses of the Mussalman officers (of the Lahore *Darbar*) were as brilliantly lighted up as any⁴. The festival of *holi* was the time for jokes and frolics and the boy-king, Maharaja Dalip Singh, sometimes carried his practical jokes to such a length that some of the courtiers were obliged to slip away from the *Darbar*⁵. He would order his "boy-regiment" to tease the *Sardars* and especially Lehna Singh⁶. The Mussalmans also celebrated and observed their days and there was absolutely no restriction. Gradually the Hindus and Muslims were beginning to have common saints, common places of pilgrimage and even common festivals. In fact, for the first time after the Mohammedan conquest the Panjabis were in the evolutionary process of becoming a nation. The great dream of the *Sufi* poets, a dream of creating a united India—beginning with Ramanand and Kabir and Nanak—was being partially realized in the Panjab. Ranjit, a true follower of Nanak, was a *Sufi* at heart and had a very tolerant spirit. So much had he endeared himself to his Mussalman subjects by his

1. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

2. P. G. R., Vol. III, p.8. (H. Lawrence's diary). Also Mohan Lal, p.15.

3. Mohan Lal, p.15.

4. R. G. Taylor to Resident, Lahore, P.G.R. Vol. IV., p. 411.

5. H. Lawrence, P. G. R., Vol. III, pp. 41-43.

6. *Ibid.*

broad-minded and just policy that when he fell ill in 1826, prayers were offered in the mosques for his recovery.¹

The whole structure of society was based on ideas and rules derived from religion and tradition, with the result that change, when at all possible, was very slow. Though the institution of the family existed, family life was almost non-existent. A grown-up man found all his pleasures and companionship outside the family, the children in the street, and the womenfolk among the neighbouring women. The wife was regarded as an inferior, a status assigned to her by Hindu and Mohammedan law, though one is inclined to believe that the condition of the Sikh women was not so bad. The children when they grew up imbibed the same contempt for their mother as soon as they could dispense with her services.² With polygamy and this degradation and seclusion of women, that romantic passion called "being in love" was rare. People did fall in love, no doubt, but in a very matter-of-fact way. Friendship among brothers was scarcely less rare; the respect due from the younger brother to the elder checked any feeling of familiar friendship.³ Even ordinary domestic manners were based on immutable laws having the sanction of religion. For every little act that people did, they could find some sanction in the holy books. And herein lies the secret of the unchanging East. The East is governed by religion, which of necessity is slow to change, and as long as the hold of religion is strong, it is impossible to bring about any social revolution in India.

P. N. KHERA.

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1. Zafar-Nama-i-Ranjit Singh, p. 172. Quoted in Ranjit Singh by Sinha, p. 143.
 2. Jacquemont, Vol. II, p. 91.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA.¹

It is impossible clearly to understand any of the several great political problems which now gravely disturb the peace of the world without some knowledge of the circumstances out of which they have arisen. Herein lies one of the chief practical reasons for the study of history. We have short and imperfect memories. A study of the background is more necessary in regard to problems of the Far East, because of its remoteness from the principal political centres of the world, which until the present century have lain in Europe and America, and because therefore of a tendency to ignore its politics until they develop crises, as at present.

CHINA.

The "Celestial" or "Middle" Kingdom, that is, the centre of the world, is a country larger than Europe or the United States of America, with a high and ancient civilization and a vast population, conventionally estimated at 430 millions; though expert modern opinion asserts that it is overestimated and that it is in fact less than the present population of India.

For many centuries, until 1911², China was governed by an Emperor, "the son of Heaven," who was nominally absolute and administered the eighteen provinces of his empire by means of viceroys and an elaborate bureaucracy of officials ("mandarins"), who were selected by means of a literary examination in the Classics, a method which prevailed for a thousand years. The people of this vast, self-sufficient empire had no need of foreign trade and maintained themselves for centuries in contemptuous isolation from the rest of the world. Intelligent, highly skilled in agriculture and craftsmanship, rich in art, literature and philosophy, worshipping tradition, they remained immune for long from "that strange disease of modern life"—progress. Among them the soldier was despised as indistinguishable from the brigand—to which he has continued till to-day to bear a striking resemblance.

1. An Address delivered to the Panjab University Historical Society on 31st January, 1938.

2. The last dynasty, the Manchus, had overthrown the Ming in 1644, that is, about eight years after the Russian Cossacks had reached the Pacific Ocean across Siberia.

It was not until 1771 that foreigners were allowed even to trade, under severe restrictions, with one Chinese port, Canton. From that time, chiefly through the agency of the East India Company, Chinese commodities became more and more familiar to the world and, with the industrial revolution in Europe, the commercial value of China was increasingly appreciated. Shortly after the opening of Canton the East India Company began to use China as a dumping ground for opium produced in its Indian factories. In 1796, when about 4,000 chests of the drug were imported, the Chinese Government prohibited the traffic. But it continued to be smuggled in increasingly, until in 1837 the import amounted to about 30,000 chests. A further vigorous attempt by the Chinese government in that and succeeding years to suppress the nefarious traffic led to the so-called "Opium War" with Great Britain, 1840-42, in which China was inevitably defeated and the Treaty of Nanking was imposed upon her. She was forced to pay a heavy indemnity for the opium destroyed; to open four more ports—Shanghai, Amoy, Foochau and Ningpo—and to cede Hong Kong. Opium smuggling, never legalized, continued unchecked. Other nations—the United States of America, France, Prussia, Holland, Belgium and Portugal—soon obtained trading rights in the five Treaty Ports and China thus became open to the trade of the world. Further anti-foreign disturbances, including the Taiping rebellion, led to further wars with Great Britain and France, which resulted in treaties in 1860, by which Great Britain and other powers were enabled to keep ambassadors at the Chinese Court and consuls in the Treaty Ports.

JAPAN.

Nippon (the Land of the Rising Sun) is a group of islands with an area and a population about fifty per cent larger than those of Great Britain. Its people, who originally derived their civilization from China, were organized in a feudal society under an Emperor (Mikado), who is supposed to be descended from the Sun-god and has been for many centuries a sacred figure-head. The real ruler for centuries was the Shogun, who was like the Mayor of the Palace among the Merovingian Franks. The Shogunate became hereditary in certain dynasties, as they might be called, and the last of these, the Tokugawa, ruled Japan from the latter part of the seventeenth century

until 1868. (The son of the last Shogun is still living and is the eldest of the "Elder Statesmen.") Below the Shoguns were the Daimios, great feudal barons, who governed the provinces and were supported by a military caste, the Samurai. This feudal aristocracy absolutely dominated the mass of the people.

Like China, Japan maintained itself for centuries in isolation, which was penetrated by the Portuguese discoverer, Pinto, in 1542. He was soon followed by Christian missionaries, the chief of whom was the Jesuit, Francis Xavier. Before the end of the century they had gained many thousands of converts. But a reaction, largely caused by the interference of the Christian bishops beyond their proper sphere, led to a series of awful massacres of the missionaries and their converts. In 1638 the Shoguns finally reverted to a policy of isolation even more rigid than that of China, which was maintained until the mid-nineteenth century. Only the Dutch were allowed a single trading post and a strictly regulated commerce.

This isolation was brusquely interrupted in 1853, when an American fleet, under Commodore Perry, suddenly anchored off Yedo, the Shogun's capital, and on behalf of the Government of the United States demanded redress for the cruel treatment of the crews of American whaling ships which had from time to time been cast on the Japanese coast. He demanded that such ships should have access to one or more Japanese ports, to refit, provision, and dispose of their cargoes. A debate followed between the Shogun and the Daimios. Some advocated complete abstention from all dealings with foreigners; but a majority decided to open relations with them in order to acquire the secret of their superior power. So in 1854 two ports were opened to American ships. Thus the isolation of Japan was ended by force twelve years after that of China. In contrast with China, however, the transformation of Japan during the next half century has been the most astonishing phenomenon of the modern world.

The treaty of 1854 was the work of the Shogun, but it resulted in his overthrow by the conservative section of the Daimios, who supported the offended Mikado against the usurper. A civil war ensued, during which the people gave rein to their hatred and contempt of foreign intruders. An Englishman was murdered in 1862 and a British fleet promptly bombarded Kagoshima. This and a

similar action and reaction at Shimonoseki in 1864 deeply impressed the conservative Daimios, who now became keen supporters of the new policy of the "open door." The last Shogun died in 1866 and the Mikado in 1867. The Shogunate was abolished. The new Mikado, Mutsuhito, who lived into our own generation, abandoned his hieratic seclusion at Kyoto in 1868, occupied the Shogun's capital, Yedo, which was now renamed Tokio, that is, "Capital of the East," and became once more the real ruler of Japan.

An amazing revolution immediately followed. The Daimios and the Samurai voluntarily abandoned the feudal privileges which they had enjoyed for eight centuries. The European system, military, naval, administrative, industrial and educational, was adopted with surprising rapidity and completeness and in a quarter of a century Japan became equal to a first class European power, as she quickly demonstrated in the field of power politics.

This stupendous transformation was made possible by certain qualities which the Japanese reveal as strongly today: their intense and disciplined patriotism, reinforced by an absolutist feudal tradition, which is deeper than the thin veneer of democratic constitutionalism with which it was overlaid in 1890; their remarkable powers of assimilation; and the arrogant self-confidence of a physically sturdy race, which for centuries has accepted with pride the domination of a militarist caste. They were and are convinced that they are innately superior to all foreigners and that, having acquired the weapons of the foreigners, they will demonstrate that superiority and harvest its material results. Thus the Minister for War, General Araki, declared in July, 1932: "The spirit of the Japanese nation is, by its nature, a thing that must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents. Anything that may hinder its progress must be abolished, even by force."

Without describing this process of modernization in detail, it may be mentioned that the European calendar was introduced in 1873 and shortly afterwards a complete system of law and judicial procedure, modelled upon a comparative study of those of Europe. In 1884 English was introduced as a second language into schools. In 1890 a constitution, prepared after eight years' comparative study, was promulgated. It established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The suffrage was

granted to all men over twenty five-years, who paid direct taxes amounting at first to about twenty rupees and later to about thirteen rupees. But great prerogatives were reserved to the Emperor; and real political power still reclined, as in the German Empire, in a conservative aristocracy.

The reality and extent of this revolution was perhaps most fully appraised during the nineteenth century by Great Britain, which in 1894 admitted Japan to the comity of nations, voluntarily forgoing her extra-territorial rights; recognizing Japan, in short, as a great modern state and in the following year, 1895, refusing to join Russia, France and Germany in depriving her of the full fruits of her victory over China.

JAPAN AND CHINA.

In 1894 a quarrel between Japan and China concerning the suzerainty over the "hermit kingdom" of Cho-sen (Korea), which each claimed, resulted in a war. Japan achieved a rapid and crushing victory. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April, 1895) a humiliated China was forced to accept the Japanese terms: to recognize the independence of Korea (which the Japanese had marked for annexation in due time); to cede Formosa, the Liao-tung peninsula, and the Pescadores or Liukiu islands, and to pay a heavy indemnity. At this point Russia intervened.

RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

As long ago as 1580 the wealthy Stroganov family equipped the brigand Jermak and a band of Cossacks to cross the Urals and overrun northern Asia. The first Tartar town which they captured, Sibir, gave its name—Siberia—to the whole vast area. The Cossacks gradually worked their way across the continent until a band of them reached the river Amur and voyaged to its mouth—the Pacific Ocean—in 1636. Little was known to foreigners of these Cossack settlements in the Far East until more than two centuries later. The Russian Government, at enmity with the British in the Near and Middle East, was perturbed by the result of the Anglo-Chinese War of 1840-42 and particularly by the British acquisition of the commercially and strategically valuable island of Hong Kong. So the able and forceful Muraviev was despatched in 1847 to initiate a forward policy in the Far East. In the course of the

next thirteen years he pushed the Russian maritime settlement to the Korean border and founded the naval port of Vladivostok ("Master of the East"). Siberia now half encircled Manchuria. Further pressure resulted in 1875 in the acquisition of the island of Sakhalin, of which for a time the Russians had shared the possession with Japan.

Provided with an abundance of French loan money—which was part of the price of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1893—the Russian Government in 1891 began to construct the Trans-Siberian railway, which was intended to terminate at Vladivostok and was already approaching the Manchurian border when the Japanese overwhelmed China. Russia, rebuffed in Europe, was unwilling to see a great sphere of expansion in the Far East controlled by upstart Japan. "The Japanese," said Lobanov, "would spread like a drop of oil on blotting paper." So Russia persuaded her new ally, France, and also Germany, to support her in depriving Japan of the Liao-tung peninsula and its valuable ice-free harbour, Port Arthur. "In the cause of peace and amity" and on the ground that "the possession of the peninsula of Liao-tung would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East," the Russian Government advised Japan "to renounce the possession of Liao-tung." Japan accepted the advice!

Having apparently frustrated the Japanese, the Russian Government proceeded to extend the Trans-Siberian railway to Vladivostok and to negotiate with Li Hung Chang, the subtle minister of the Empress Dowager of China, for authority to exploit Manchuria. In 1896 the Russo-Chinese Bank was established, largely by means of French capital, to enable the Chinese Government to pay the war indemnity. In return for this service Russia was to receive railway and telegraph concessions in Manchuria. So the Chinese Eastern Railway Company was formed, which built a railway across Manchuria from Chita through Harbin to Vladivostok.

Meanwhile an anti-foreign riot in Shantung resulted in the murder of two German missionaries on 1st November, 1897. Ten days later four German cruisers entered the harbour of Kaio-chau

and proclaimed it a German possession. After some negotiation the German Government obtained from China, by way of compensation for the murder, a ninety-nine years' lease of Kaiochau and the right to link it with the Chinese railway system. "We need a door into China," said Marschall von Bieberstein, the Foreign Minister. A naval squadron was despatched, under the command of Prince Henry of Prussia, to enforce Germany's demands, and upon the eve of its departure the Emperor adjured his brother in the course of a famous speech: "If any attempt to affront us, then strike with mailed fist." Germany built at Kaiochau the strong fortress of Tsingtao.

The Russian Government promptly followed up the German *coup* by demanding and obtaining from China a twenty-five years' lease of the end of Laio-tung peninsula, including the valuable icefree harbours of Port Arthur and Dairen (Dalny); the right to connect them with the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin, and to maintain military railway guards along these lines, as well as mineral and timber concessions. So Manchuria was occupied and garrisoned, as if it were a Russian province. "We will remember," said a Japanese statesman.

CHINA, 1900-1921.

It thus seemed at the end of the nineteenth century that China was about to be partitioned and that Japan was to be excluded from the "thieves' kitchen." The Chinese were greatly alarmed. Anti-foreign riots, covertly encouraged by the astute old Empress Dowager and her minister, culminated in the outrages of the "Boxers," a local organization, nominally for the suppression of banditry, which rose in rebellion and murdered hundreds of "foreign devils" and Chinese Christians. The rising spread over all northern China and a hastily assembled army of Japanese, Russian, British, German, French and American troops was despatched to relieve their beleaguered legations at Peking, to restore order, and to enforce redress upon China. By the settlement which followed China was forced to punish the Boxer leaders and to pay an indemnity. At the same time, in October, 1900, the Yang Tse Agreement between Great Britain and Germany, to which all the other Powers acceded, guaranteed the principle of "the open door" and the territorial integrity of China—for what that was worth,

Japan had been frustrated by an irresistible combination of Great Powers. She accordingly formed with Great Britain in 1902 an alliance, which was periodically renewed until 1922, when it was denounced by Great Britain as having fulfilled its purpose. Thus protected, Japan demanded the withdrawal of Russia from Liao-tung and Manchuria. When the Russian Government equivocated, Japan declared war in February, 1904. Great Britain "kept the ring"; Japan decisively defeated Russia and by the Treaty of Portsmouth (U. S. A.), September, 1905, forced her to give up Liao-tung and to retrocede the southern portion of the island of Sakhalin, which she had seized in 1875. Both powers engaged to evacuate Manchuria; but Cho-sen (Korea) was recognized as a Japanese protectorate. Five years later Japan annexed Korea. From this time, strong in her own strength, in her remoteness from the other Great Powers, and in her alliance with Great Britain, she openly regarded China as a field of exploitation.

The Chinese were now profoundly alarmed for the integrity and indeed for the independent existence of their invertebrate and ill governed country. They had resisted innovation too long for their safety. In 1911 a revolution, inspired and organized by Sun Yat Sen, established a modern constitution and system of administration; and in the following year the child-emperor, Pu Yi, was expelled and a precarious republic was inaugurated. Abandoning their age-long contempt for soldiers, the Chinese began to train and equip a modern army. (It is a grim irony that they, who had invented gunpowder in ancient times, had hitherto employed it chiefly for the purpose of fireworks, and that they had met the Japanese in 1894 largely with medieval weapons.)

The Chinese Republic, barely created, threatened at once to disintegrate. The first President, Yuan Shih Kai, was a self-seeker, who aspired to become Emperor and truckled to Japan. The *tuchuns* (military governors, "war lords") of the provinces became virtually independent, especially Marshal Chang-Tso-lin in Manchuria, which Japan was determined to annex. In 1913 Russia detached Outer Mongolia, and Great Britain detached Tibet from the nominal control of the central government.

When the World War broke out in 1914, the Japanese rapidly became the dominant power in the Far East. They captured the

strong German fortress of Tsingtao, occupied Kaiochau and Shantung, and seized the German islands in the northern Pacific Ocean. Although China, like Japan, had declared war on the Central European Powers, the Japanese Government in January, 1915, presented to the Chinese President the famous "Twenty-one Demands," which amounted to a military, political and financial protectorate. The Chinese Government was obliged to yield and the Allied Powers to acquiesce. In November, 1917, the Government of the United States of America formally recognized that "territorial propinquity" gave Japan "special interests" in China. Taking the fullest advantage of the preoccupation of all the other Great Powers, Japan gained complete control of China and established a military occupation and administration of Manchuria, Shantung and Inner Mongolia in the north and Fukien in the south. Moreover, upon the outbreak of the Russian revolution her troops, in co-operation with American forces, occupied the whole of Siberia east of Lake Baikal, including the island of Sakhalin, and showed their intention of retaining permanently at least the whole of maritime Siberia.

Meanwhile China rapidly disintegrated, giving the Japanese Government an admirable excuse to intervene wholesale to restore and maintain order. Upon the death of President, Yuan Shih Kai, in 1916, chaos ensued. The "war lords," such as Chang-Tso-lin in Manchuria, Wu-Pei-Fu in Chihli, Feng Yu-hsiang in Shansi, and many lesser leaders, with large, ill-paid, undisciplined armies, which were scarcely more than brigand bands, maintained inefficient local despotisms. Sun Yat Sen had withdrawn to Canton, where he organized the Kuomintang (People's National Party) with its three principles—nationalism, democracy and livelihood. But his was a voice in the desert. A small group of followers "elected" him President of the Chinese Republic in 1921, and in his search for foreign aid in the immediate post-war world he received friendly response only from Soviet Russia, with whom Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang was also independently flirting. Such was the political condition of China at the end of the World War.

POST-WAR JAPAN AND CHINA.

The Japanese had overreached themselves during the Great War and had earned the profound distrust of the victorious allies,

Moreover the Soviet Russians had by 1922 re-established themselves in maritime Siberia, which Great Britain, the United States of America and France forced the Japanese to abandon, as well as their territorial aim in Shantung. The Japanese had now no political friends. In 1922 Great Britain terminated her alliance. In the same year Japan was compelled to agree to the Nine Power Treaty, which professed to guarantee the territorial integrity of China and the commercial principle of "the open door." This was, on paper, a negation of her 1915 treaty with China and of her actual position in respect of that unhappy country. In 1922 also Japan reluctantly agreed to the Naval Pact by which she accepted the 3 : 5 : 5 ratio of tonnage in relation to Great Britain and the United States of America. In 1925 the Maritime Province of Siberia and the northern half of Sakhalin were formally restored to the U. S. S. R. She had now become, nevertheless, the third greatest Power in the world, wholly bent upon the military and commercial domination of the Far East. A patriotic and highly disciplined population of nearly seventy millions, united in their sacred allegiance to the Mikado, was organized under the political control of two great groups, the Seiyukai, which represented a militarist aristocracy with an ancient tradition of feudal authority; and the Minseito, which represented organized plutocracy. It has been estimated that eight families¹ control one quarter of Japan's wealth and completely dominate her industry, commerce and finance.

CONTRAST THE CONDITION OF CHINA.

Sun Yat Sen, with a small following at Canton since 1921, had seized the friendly hand of Russia. In 1923 Borodin became adviser to the Kuomintang, which was reorganized upon the communist model and in the following year admitted the Chinese communists. Russian officers trained the Chinese republican army and officials. But in 1924 Sun died and, during the even greater disorder which ensued, General Chiang Kai Shek, his son-in-law, became President and continued for three years to co-operate with Borodin. By 1927 the communist-republican army had occupied the Yangtse Kiang basin and transferred its headquarters to Nanking. Chiang Kai Shek now broke with Borodin and proceeded to purge the Kuomintang

1. Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Asano, Sumitomo, Shibusawa, Suzuki, Okura and Yasuda.

of its communist elements. There followed a period of bitter internecine war, accompanied by wholesale executions, between the Kuomintang and the communists and various recalcitrant "war lords." In the midst of this Chiang suddenly "retired" in summer, 1927, but returned to power in January, 1928, as dictator of the Nationalist party. In that year, despite a stiff encounter with a Japanese army in Tsinan, the Nationalists advanced into northern China and occupied Peiping (Pekin), from which Marshal Chang Tso-lin retired. In October, 1928, Chiang Kai Shek proclaimed an "Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China," which was to establish the permanent dictatorship of the Kuomintang.

China appeared in 1928 to be achieving national unity. But the appearance was illusory. Factions within the Kuomintang, constant petty wars between independent "war lords," endemic banditry and friction with Japanese armies of occupation kept China in a condition of chaotic impotence and supplied the Japanese government with an excellent excuse for the steady expansion of its "sphere of influence," in order to maintain order and to protect foreign interests.

When Marshal Chang-Tso-lin was retiring from Peking in summer, 1928, he was killed by a bomb, probably Japanese, for he interfered with their plans for Manchuria. He was succeeded by his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, the so-called "Young Marshal," who was much inferior to him in ability and energy. The "Young Marshal" accepted the authority of the Kuomintang, but almost immediately embroiled himself with the Soviet Union by his interference with the Chinese Eastern Railway. This incident completed the break between the Kuomintang and the Russians. The Japanese were biding their time in Manchuria, where it is computed that they had invested £200 millions, and that time soon came.

Meanwhile confusion grew worse confounded in republican China, which by the end of 1929 threatened complete disruption. In 1930, however, Chiang Kai Shek with the assistance of the "Young Marshal" defeated a combination of Mongolian "war lords." But his further progress was halted by the Japanese. The Manchurian pear was ripe for plucking. Seizing upon an "incident," they occupied Manchuria in 1931, declared a protectorate, and in

March, 1932, proclaimed it the state of Manchukuo, placing the Manchu, Henry Pu Yi, on the throne as a puppet emperor. The Chinese appeal to the League of Nations—from which Japan shortly afterwards gave the requisite two years' notice of withdrawal—was futile. The action of the League was dilatory and impotent. The Chinese Government invoked its intervention on 21st September, 1931. The Council appointed the Lytton Commission in January, 1932. Its report was published in October, 1932. An admirable document of 100,000 words had, owing to the events of the intervening twelve months become impossible of application. The Japanese had annexed Manchuria despite international guarantees and the unanimous opposition of the League. From that time the authority of the League of Nations as an international arbiter declined lamentably, until in 1935 Signor Mussolini administered what we fear may have proved a *coup de grace* to its principles in the realm of "real policy."

The steady expansion of a naked military control of China by the Japanese provoked intense hatred. Chiang Kai Shek was strangely passive towards the Japanese; but nation-wide anti-Japanese propaganda and boycott, and the frequent recurrence of "incidents" led to a destructive Japanese bombardment, in February, 1932, of the forts and settlements immediately north of Shanghai and a Japanese military occupation of the area, from which they withdrew in May only after protracted international negotiation.

Meanwhile the economic depression, which rapidly enveloped the world in 1930, produced a two-fold political effect: (i) it sharply emphasized the division of the Great Powers into two groups, the "haves"—Great Britain, United States of America, France and perhaps Russia—and the "have nots," which included Italy, Germany and Japan. Incidentally the "haves" were the democratic nations. (ii) It provoked a mood of militant extremism in the "have not" nations; exacerbated them against the democratic "haves"; and fostered the militarist section and the policy of aggression.

In Japan, where military power had been developed out of proportion to the country's wealth, the militarists in 1930 violently assailed the Minseito Cabinet, accusing it of a conspiracy with the plutocrats to exploit the depression in their interest. In November the premier, Hamaguchi, was shot. The victory of the Seiyukai

was not complete enough for the violent extremists and in February, 1932, a gang of militarists murdered the premier, Inukai. Admiral Saito formed a temporary coalition government, which was replaced by the Okada ministry in July, 1934. These governments were Fascist in temperament and policy, but the civilian and industrial elements exercised some restraint upon the militarists. At the end of 1935 the moderate Admiral Saito became the personal adviser of the Emperor Mutsuhito. At the general election of February, 1936, the Minseito party, which supported the Okada government, increased in strength; the small proletarian Shakai Taishuto party doubled its numbers; the Seiyukai and Fascist groups were correspondingly weakened. A military revolt was engineered before the end of the month. A group of young officers murdered Saito, Takahashi (Finance Minister) and General Watanobe. Okada and Makino escaped with their lives, but Okada resigned the government. Koki Hirota was appointed by the Emperor premier and Foreign Minister, with a coalition cabinet. The assassins were punished, but the militarists controlled the situation, scorning constitutional means. They pressed their policy and views, threatening rebellion and further assassination of opponents. In January, 1937, the Army, led by General Terauchi, overthrew the Hirota Government. The Emperor then nominated the moderate General Ugaki as premier, but the Army refused to obey government by politicians and Ugaki resigned, protesting that the country was threatened with an aggressive military despotism. In February, 1937, General Senjuro Hayashi formed a government completely subservient to the Army.

The militarists are in absolute control of Japan and they aim at a grandiose scheme of aggression on the mainland. The industrial and commercial magnates have accepted militarist domination. Since the beginning of the depression and the consequent devaluation of the currency, agriculturists have been utterly impoverished and the standard of the life of industrial employees has been greatly lowered, but Japanese trade has increased by 70 per cent in volume and about 120 per cent in currency value and Japan has become the third commercial nation in the world. The industrial and commercial magnates have accepted the principle that "trade follows the flag" and envisage an absolute monopoly of the Chinese market.

So aggression in China has developed constantly. In 1933 Jehol was annexed to Manchukuo. Early in 1935 Chahar was occupied. In November, 1935, Hopei and Shantung were included in an "Autonomous Federation for Joint Defence against Communism." During 1936 the Japanese army occupied Suiyuan (Inner Mongolia). The whole of northern China is now either annexed, or embraced within a protectorate which is preliminary to annexation. Since the final triumph of the militarists in Japan twelve months ago, the leaders of the army have aimed at the destruction of the Nanking Government and the complete control of southern China. They have "invited" Chiang Kai Shek to accept Japanese advisers and Japanese military support in restoring order and suppressing communism in central and southern China. (It must be remembered that there are probably fifty million Chinese in the central provinces living under a communist regime).

Since 1931 Japan has engendered widespread international suspicion and hostility by her flagrant violation of the League Covenant, the Nine Power Treaty (1922) and the Naval Pact. She has attempted to promulgate a "Monroe Doctrine" of the Far East, which other nations are not prepared to accept. In 1930 she secured a new naval ratio of 7:10:10 in relation to Great Britain and the United States of America, but she has recently repudiated this pact and has entered into a naval race with those powers.

This reckless policy of the military extremists who now rule Japan has been stimulated, rather than checked, by the recent shrinkage of Japanese trade, which since 1930 has supported their huge military and naval budget at the expense of other national functions. This perceptible decline has been due partly to the progressive recovery of the western industrial nations, and partly to the economic repercussion of a strong anti-Japanese sentiment abroad, and most particularly and naturally in China.

Presuming that Russia has been emasculated by recent internal dissension, and knowing that they have alienated many nations, including all the democracies, the leaders of the Japanese army have dictated to their government a policy of *rapprochement* with the Fascist Powers, which will leave them free to complete the absorption of China. At the end of November, 1936, they entered into agreements with Italy and Germany, which are closely reminiscent

of the diplomatic methods of Metternich. For example, Clause II of the treaty with Germany states :

"The two high contracting parties will jointly invite third parties whose domestic peace is endangered by the disruptive activities of the Communist Internationale, to consult with each other concerning measures to combat this activity, and to execute these measures in close co-operation with each other."

Section B of the Supplementary Protocol to this treaty states :

"The competent authorities of both high contracting parties will, within the framework of existing laws, take strict measures against those who, at home or abroad, directly or indirectly, are active in the service of the Communist Internationale or lend assistance to its disruptive work."

So protected, they proceeded in 1937 to complete the conquest of China, which to the most extreme of them is to be a mere prelude to vaster aggression. One remembers, for example, the Tanaka Memorandum¹ (1927) : "In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. Sooner or later we shall have to fight against Soviet Russia One day we shall have to fight against America."

In the meantime Chiang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang were carrying on a chaotic campaign against separatist "war lords" and communist leaders in China. In the course of this campaign Chiang Kai Shek was kidnapped in December, 1936, by the Communist General Chang Hsueh-liang, the "Young Marshal," at Sianfu, capital of Shensi Province. Now the Chinese communists and the northern "war lords" were the champions of opposition to Japanese aggression. In the negotiations for his release Chiang Kai Shek agreed to cease his attacks upon these two groups and to form with them a united "Popular Front" against the Japanese. So, in response to Japanese manoeuvres, a Kuomintang-Soviet *rapprochement* was restored. Declarations of friendship were exchanged between the two governments.

An intensified anti-Japanese propaganda and boycott ensued throughout China ; hostile "incidents" became more numerous ;

1. The authenticity of this memorial, said to have been presented by the Premier to the Emperor, is denied by the Japanese Government.

clashes between Japanese "military police" and Chinese officials and civilians grew more frequent, until finally the Japanese government issued an ultimatum, demanding a complete cessation of Chinese opposition to their efforts to eradicate communism and to restore and maintain order in China. Not receiving a reply which they considered satisfactory, the Japanese entered upon the present measures for the pacification of China—measures which appear likely to develop into a war with China!

A few figures in regard to Japan will be of interest.

In 1894 Japan, with an area of 147,000 square miles—that is, equal to that of Poland or Finland, and about 30% greater than that of Great Britain, but about $\frac{1}{3}$ the size of India—had a population of about 40 millions, which has since increased to 70 millions. It has a population density of about 475 per square mile, compared with about 300 in Great Britain, and 190 in India.

Between 1894 and 1936 it has acquired, almost entirely at the expense of China, a subject empire of about 376,000 square miles, that is, about four times its own area, containing about 60 millions inhabitants.

J. F. BRUCE.

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD CIVILIZATION.¹

A panoramic view of Indian civilization should give some indication of its characteristic features—its antiquity, its vitality, the extent of its influence, its maritime activity, etc. Civilization does not merely denote literary or intellectual eminence or scientific accomplishment or artistic refinement. It is co-extensive with life itself and symbolizes the sum total of the endeavour of a particular community, at a particular period, in all spheres of activity. This sum total includes physical science, medicine, music, art, literature, religion, philosophy, political thought, dress, sports, etc.

ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

During the Great War, Indian soldiers fought in Europe. But this was not the first time that Indians took part in an European war. Panjab contributed a contingent to the army of the Persian Emperor Xerxes, who invaded Greece in the fifth century, B.C. After the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.) the Persian commander Mardonius was left behind to continue the war and the Indian contingent was included among the troops, selected to remain with him. They were well-known for bravery, courage and endurance. A description of the Indian soldiers, their weapons and their equipment is given by the father of Greek history, Herodotus.²

Again, excavations at Memphis, under the supervision of Sir Flinders Petrie have revealed the existence of an Indian colony in Egypt about 500 B. C. The following passage is quoted from *Memphis I.* by W. Flinders Petrie:³ "The figures of Indians are of different races. 35 is a Tibetan type, which is also found in Orissa. There is an ape on each side of the head. 36 is an Aryan Panjabi type, the attitude with the hip raised high on one side, the arms bent, and the loose lock of hair are all Indian; but the band round the breast, the amulet hung round the neck, and the artificial navel lines are all strange and lack a comparison. 37 and 39 are seated cross-legged with drapery round the waist; 38 and 40 have the knees raised and a scarf over the left shoulder. These attitudes are familiar in Indian art."

1. Read at a Meeting of the Panjab University Historical Society.

2. Vol. 7, 65, 86; Vol. 3, 106; Vol. 8, 103; Vol. 9, 32;

3. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London, 1909, pages 16-17, para 50. pl. XXXIX.

"Now there has been a strong feeling that as dated material has not been obtained in India before Asoka, Indian civilization was therefore not of much importance in earlier days. But that is merely the result of the early prevalence of woodwork; stone monuments were not yet erected. The magnificent stone pillars and carvings of Asoka prove that a long growth of art and skill had preceded them; and the account of the country at the time of Alexander shows that a high civilization existed then. As early as Darius, about 500 B.C., the India subject to the Persians was the most populous province of that empire and yielded 360 talents of gold yearly.

Settlements of Indians appear at Nippur in Babylonia, as early as 425 B.C. and in the Asman Papyri in Egypt.

In view of these connections there seems no difficulty in accepting the Indian colony in Memphis as being due to Persian intercourse from 525 to 405 B.C. And the introduction of asceticism, already in a communal form, by 340 B.C., points also to growth of Indian ideas. To date these solid modelled figures 35, 37, 41, in the fifth century B.C. and the hollow moulded figure, 36, in the third century B.C., in accordance with the general dating of the other figures, seems therefore the most reasonable result. The importance of such tangible remains as evidence of an Indian colony and the spread of Indian ideas in the West, will be obvious to all students."¹

Further, "140 is an Indian similar to that found before (36) as seen by the wreath, the position of the arms, the large amulet, and the deep umbilical line."² The existence of an Indian colony in a foreign country like Egypt at such an early date not only shows their enterprise, but also gives an indication of the antiquity of Indian civilization.

EVIDENCE FROM ASIA MINOR.

Professor Hugo Winckler discovered in 1907 at Bogazkoi, cuneiform tablets which are assigned to 1500 B.C. These tablets have preserved the record of a treaty of peace. Various gods are invoked in a list of names of gods, the following four Vedic gods appear:

Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Nāsatyau. The question is, how did

1. Loc. Cit.

2. *Meydun and Memphis III* by Petrie, (British School of Archaeology, London, 1910, p. 46 para 80).

these gods migrate to Asia Minor at that period? There can be only two hypotheses: (i) they were borrowed from India through Persia; (ii) they migrated direct from India to Asia Minor. Let us examine the first hypothesis. Had these gods been borrowed through Persia, we should have expected a slight modification in their names, on account of the operation of phonetic laws. For example, Sanskrit sibilant becomes a pure aspirate in old Persian, thus;

Sapt	Haft
Soma	Homa
Asura	Ahura.

Similarly Sanskrit *ta* becomes *tha* in old Persian.

Under the operation of these phonetic laws, we should have expected a pure aspirate in place of a sibilant in the name Nāsatyau, and Mitra would assume the form of Mithra. But as no phonetic modification has taken place in these names, one must assume that the Vedic gods were not borrowed through Persia, but migrated to Asia Minor direct from India. This shows that India had contributed four gods to the theology of Asia Minor before 1500 B.C.; and that Vedic religion and Vedic civilization are therefore earlier than the date of the cuneiform tablets.

EVIDENCE FROM MOHENJO-DARO.

Excavations at Mohenjo Daro show that phallic worship prevailed in that city. Numerous phallic emblems have been excavated. There are only two references to phallic worship in the Rgveda. In both these places this worship is condemned. But later we find that phallic worship in a modified form became a part of Vedic ritualism. In this modified form it assumed an important character, in the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, which later became a symbol of Hindu imperialism. It is clear that phallic worship was in its infancy in the time of the Rgveda, but that it gradually became more popular, till it could no longer be ignored and had finally to be included in the sacred ritual itself. The find of numerous phallic emblems at Mohenjo-Daro proves the popularity of phallic worship in that city. It represents, in my opinion, a phase of cult development which is later than Rgveda.

Further excavations at Mohenjo-Daro suggest that Śiva was one of the most popular deities of that city. Śiva, however, was a

minor deity in the *R̥gveda* ; but as we come down from the *R̥gveda* to the period of the *Ēpics*, we can trace an evolution in the status of Śiva from a minor deity to one of the supreme gods and a member of the Holy Hindu Trinity in the Epic period.

Numerous seals have also been excavated at Mohenjo-Daro. These seals are inscribed, but the inscriptions have not yet been deciphered. But they show that the art of pictography or perhaps of writing had been invented by that time. The art of writing had not been invented during the period of the *R̥gveda*. The sacred hymns of the Vedas were handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition. As the words were heard from the lips of a teacher, and not read from a written text, the Vedas are therefore called *Śruti*, i.e., "that which is heard." This is supported by the following statement of Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, one of the six auxiliary treatises of the Veda :

"(Primeval) seers had direct intuitive insight into duty. They, by oral instruction, handed down the hymns to later generations, who were destitute of the direct intuitive insight. The later generations, declining in (power of) oral communication, compiled this work, the Veda and the auxiliary Vedic treatises, in order to comprehend their meaning.¹"

The priority of the *R̥gveda* to Mohenjo-Daro is further corroborated by the research of Prof. Jacobi of Bonn (Germany), who independently assigned the *R̥gveda* to 5000 B.C. on astronomical grounds.

This also shows in my opinion that *R̥gveda* is much earlier than Mohenjo-Daro, and as Mohenjo-Daro civilization appears to have been contemporaneous with the civilizations of Sumer, Elam and Mesopotamia, it would follow that the *R̥gveda* is *ipso facto* also earlier than those civilizations.

MARITIME ACTIVITY.

Ancient Indians were a sea-faring people. They had acquired an exact knowledge of winds and tides and currents, and could therefore venture to sail on the open sea, while other nations were compelled to sail along the sea-coast, as they were ignorant of these factors.

According to the evidence of the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, a shipwrecked Indian was picked up in the Red Sea. It was he who

1. *The Nirukta*, 1.20.

piloted an Egyptian ship to India without sailing along the sea-coast. This maritime activity resulted in a brisk trade with the Roman Empire. In fashionable Roman society, there was a great demand for Indian goods such as fine muslins, prints, pearls, precious stones, and spices. This trade was a great drain on Roman wealth, which Pliny laments. According to the calculations of Mommsen, Roman trade brought annually to India a sum of one million pounds sterling. Roman specie was brought to India in such large quantities that Roman coins circulated in India without being re-minted. This commercial prosperity of India was, in my opinion, due to the Indians' superior knowledge of applied chemistry, particularly to (i) the extraction of Indigotin from the indigo plant, (ii) the preparation of fast dyes for textile fabrics, and (iii) the skilful tempering of steel.

Another result of the maritime activity of the Indians was the establishment of Indian colonies and kingdoms on the eastern coast of Africa, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Siam, Kambodia and Champa.

INDIAN COLONIES AND KINGDOMS IN MALACCA, INDO-CHINA AND INDONESIA.

Our sources of information are :—

- (i) evidence of eye-witnesses ; such as travellers and pilgrims ;
- (ii) epigraphical records ;
- (iii) Chinese and Annamite chronicles ;
- (iv) architectural, artistic and archæological remains discovered in those lands.

Indians penetrated into Burma and the Malay Peninsula both by land and by sea. The land route lay through Assam. Regular land trade-routes existed between eastern India and China through Upper Burma, by which commercial communications between India, Burma, and China were carried on without interruption. Following the ancient land trade-routes, Indians established colonies in the valleys of the Irawady, the Salween, the Mekong, and the Red River. Hindu kingdoms and settlements were found all along the hilly tracts between eastern India and western China. Geographical names of India reappear in these regions, conclusively proving Indian influence. Yunnan was called Gandhara ; Laos was known as Malava in ancient times. The eastern part of Laos is

named Dasana (Sanskrit Daśārṇa) by Ptolemy. Buddhism was the prevalent religion. The Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the Gṛdhra Kūṭa, the Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri, the Stūpa of Ānanda, the common and familiar associations of Buddhism, reappear in Nan-chao. Further, the king was called *Mahārāja*. The alphabet was derived from the Indian script. The following remark of Gerini, who has traced place-names to their Indian origin and collected traditions associated with early Indian settlers, may be repeated here :

"From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pali languages in official documents and employing Brāhmaṇa priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the court and the state. Among such monarchies we may mention those of Tagong, upper Pagan and Seuwi in Burma, of Muang Hang, Chieng, Rung, Muang Khwan, and Dasarna in the Lau country and of Agranagara and Champa in Tonkin and Annam¹."

Another stream of Indian emigrants flowed into lower Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali by the sea-route and established famous kingdoms, which lasted from the first century of the Christian era to the fourteenth or the fifteenth century A. D. Even a short description of these kingdoms and colonies would require a series of articles, but a brief indication of them may nevertheless be given here.

THE KINGDOM OF CHAMPA.

More than 130 inscriptions have been discovered in Champa. They are mostly written in Sanskrit, some in prose and some both in prose and verse. Several of them are quite long and give interesting information.

The earliest inscription is the Vo-chanh Rock inscription, assigned on palæographic grounds to the second or the third century A. D. It is in Sanskrit prose and verse, two verses being composed in *Ṛasantatilaka* metre and one in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. It records the performance of *Viśvajit-atirātra*, a part of the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice by a king of the family of Śrī Māra or Śrī Mārarājakula. It shows that a Hindu dynasty ruled in Champa in

¹ Quoted by R. C. Majumdar in *Champa*. XVI.

the second or the third century A. D. The dynasty seems to be firmly established even when we are first introduced to it in the oldest inscription. The origin of Hindu activities in this domain may therefore be assumed to go back to the first century A. D. The country was finally conquered by the Annamites in the fifteenth century A. D. During a period of about thirteen centuries the following Hindu dynasties ruled in Champa. The dynasty of Śrī Māra lasted from the second century A.D. to the sixth century A. D. Bhadravarman built a temple of Bhadreśvara (Śiva) in 400 A.D. Devavarman and Vijayavarman were two of its important kings. The dynasty of Gaṅgārāja, who is supposed to have abdicated to pass his days on the banks of the Ganges in India, ruled from the sixth century to the eighth century A. D. Manorathavarman, Rudravarman, Śambhuvarman, Naravāhanavarman and Vikrāntavarman were some of its kings. From the middle of the eighth century, a new dynasty was founded by Pṛithivīndravarman. It was known as the dynasty of Pāṇdurāṅga with its capital at Virapura and remained till A. D. 860. Malay pirates looted and burned the old temple of Bhagavatī, which was rebuilt in A. D. 784 by king Satyavarman. A new dynasty, known as the Bhṛgu dynasty, was established by Indravarman, who was chosen by the lords of the kingdom. He removed his capital to Indrapura in the province of Amarāvati. He was an enthusiastic Buddhist. He built a magnificent Buddhist monastery, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the village of Dongduong. Bhṛgu, a divine sage, was the supposed mythical originator of the dynasty. King Siṃhavarman had to remove his capital further south to Vijaya. In 1069 the northern province of the kingdom was ceded to Annam. The Cambodians invaded and occupied Champa, but their conquest was short-lived. In A. D. 1307 king Jayasiṃhavarman III married an Annamese princess. In 1446, the capital Vijaya was captured. It was destroyed in 1471. Henceforth the kingdom of Champa disappeared.

Inscriptions show the wide prevalence of Sanskrit language and literature. Philosophy, grammar, *Ākhyānas*, poetry, epics, etc., were studied. The whole of Champa was permeated with Hindu thought and Hindu culture. Annam is covered with temples, most artistically carved. They contain wonderful sculptures of Hindu

gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Umā, Lakshmī, Skanda, Gaṇeśha, etc., or Buddhist images of Lokeśvara and the Buddha. Since the dismemberment of the kingdom of Champa, there has been a marked decay in the culture and civilization of this unhappy land.

KINGDOM OF PĀṆDURAṅGA.

Modern Annam was named, in ancient times, Pāṇḍuraṅga—Panran in the vernacular—and is now called Phanrang. Numerous inscriptions have been discovered in the valley. They show that Pāṇḍuraṅga was a Hindu kingdom. It was jealous of its freedom and sent its own ambassadors to the court of China. It included the whole of southern Annam, between Cochin-China and Cape Varella. Formerly it enjoyed complete independence, but later it became a tributary state of the kingdom of Champa.

KINGDOM OF FUNAN.

Chinese chronicles mention a great Hindu kingdom, named Funan. It was established to the west of Champa in the first century A. D. and roughly corresponded to Cochin-China, Cambodia, lower Laos, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula. It had a powerful fleet, and maintained diplomatic relations with the imperial court of China.

The originator of the ruling dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya, who married a Nāgī named Somā. This is how the Soma Vamśa was founded. King Chandravarman (Fan Chan) sent envoys to the court of an Indian king, named Muṛuṇḍa, and thus established direct intercourse with India. The Indian, Bhikṣu Śākya Nāgasena, was sent to China in A. D. 484. Śaivism and Buddhism prevailed side by side in the fifth century A. D. Buddhist monks went from Funan to China and translated Buddhist books into Chinese, e.g., Saṅghapāla, an Indian Buddhist monk and a celebrated translator, worked in China for sixteen years from A. D. 506-522. This kingdom was finally conquered by Citrasena of Cambodia in the seventh century A. D.

According to M. Coedes, two inscriptions, which have hitherto been regarded as Cambodian, really belong to Funan. One records the foundation of a sanctuary of Viṣṇu by a prince Guṇavarman. The second mentions two kings Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha flourished.

KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA.

The ancient name of Cambodia was Kambujadeśa, the land of

the Kambojas. The earliest kings of Cambodia traced their descent from a great sage *Maharṣi* Kambu and the *Āpasaras* Mērā. Hence their descendants were called Kambojas.

Śrutavarman was the earliest historical king. The capital of Śreṣṭhavarman was Śreṣṭhapura. A queen Kambuja-Rājalakṣmī also sat on the throne. Mahendravarman was a great conqueror. His capital was Bhavapura. He set up a Śivalinga and a stone Nandi. His son, Īśānavarman, built a different capital, called Īśānapura and sent an embassy to China in A. D. 616-17.

In the eighth century, Cambodia was divided into two states, Water Cambodia and Land Cambodia. The two states were reunited by Jayavarman II in A. D. 802. He built several strongholds and temples dedicated to Lokeśvara. His successors covered Cambodia with magnificent monuments from the ninth to the twelfth centuries A. D. Sūryavarman II built the famous Viṣṇu temple of Angkor-Vat. The last great king was a Buddhist Jayavarman VII. (A. D. 1181-1201). He founded hospitals dedicated to the Buddha throughout his kingdom. They were for all people without any distinction of caste or creed. The text of inscriptions on these foundations is inspired by a noble ideal of kingship. The following lines may be quoted: "The physical suffering of human beings became in him (the king) an acute suffering of the mind. Verily, the sorrow of the state is the sorrow of its royal master and not his own individual sorrow."

During the reign of his successor, Śrīndravarman (A. D. 1296-1307), a most beautiful shrine of Tribhuvana-Maheśvara was built at Īśvarapura. During the fifteenth century A. D. Siamese invasions forced Cambodian kings to abandon their capital. Henceforth Cambodia disappeared as a state.

KINGDOM OF SIAM.

Siam is equivalent to the Sanskrit Śyāma. In the seventh century A. D., it was known as the kingdom of Dvārāvātī. In the twelfth century A. D., it was divided into two states: in the south the state of Lopabhūri, and in the north the state of Sukhodaya. Formerly it was a tributary state to Cambodia. In the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. it asserted its independence under Śrī Indrāditya. His son, Rama Khamheng, has left a long record of his conquests. They extended the boundaries of this kingdom eastward to the Mekong,

southward to Ligor in Malay Peninsula; but the foundation of the state of Ayudhya in A. D. 1350 marked the beginning of its dismemberment.

KINGDOM OF ŚRĪVIJAYA OF SUMATRA.

The kingdom of Śrīvijaya of the seventh century A. D., which comprised Sumatra and neighbouring islands, was ruled by the dynasty of Śailendras. In the eighth century A. D., it had expanded to include Java and the Malay Peninsula. Several kings built beautiful temples to the Buddhist Goddess Tārā and stupas in honour of the Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. Magnificent monuments, including the stupa of Borobudar, were raised throughout the kingdom. The earliest inscription is the Kedukan Bukit, dated 605 of the Saka era (A. D. 688). It is a record of a naval expedition. The men engaged numbered 200,000 (*dva Lakṣa*). The last line reads: "Śrīvijaya *siddhayātrā subhikṣa*," i.e., "Śrīvijaya has accomplished all its enterprises and is in a flourishing state." Another inscription, the Talang Tuwo, dated 608, Saka era (A. D. 684), records the foundation of a charitable park, called Śrīkṣetra. The Kota Kapura inscription, dated 606 Saka era (A. D. 684) opens with an invocation for the protection of Śrīvijaya. It is followed by an imprecation against rebels and ends with a benediction on the loyalists. It records a military expedition against Java.

KINGDOM OF JAVA.

The oldest inscriptions discovered in Western Java are four rock inscriptions. They show that a king Pūrṇavarman was reigning. Three have no date. The fourth is dated in the twenty-second regnal year of the ruling king. It records the opening of a canal, named after two rivers of Northern India, the Candrabhāgā and the Gomati. The canal, about seven miles long, was excavated in twenty-one days. When the work was finished, a thousand kine were presented to the Brāhmaṇa priests, clearly showing that this king was a Hindu.

The Tukmas inscription of Central Java, which shows Hindu influence, is assigned to the fifth century A. D. by Kern and to the seventh century A. D. by Krom. It is a panegyric of a local spring, which is supposed to be as holy as the Ganges. The Changel inscription, dated Saka era 654 (A. D. 742), records the setting up of a Śiva-Linga by a king named Sanjaya. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are invoked. Manu and Raghu are mentioned. Java is described

as an excellent island, (*dvīpavaram*), a holy island, abounding in gold and grain. Central and eastern Java, in short, is covered with marvellous monuments of wonderful artistic taste, bearing silent but eloquent testimony to Indian influence in that island.

HINDU KINGDOM OF BORNEO.

Only a few Hindu monuments have been discovered in Borneo. The most interesting artistic remains are sculptures found in a cave at Geonoeng Kobeng. They can be divided into two groups. One group consists of images, intact and fragmentary, of Śiva, Agastya, Mahākāla, Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa. The second group includes four-armed female deities seated on a lotus seat. They have not been identified. It is evident that they must originally have belonged to temples which were destroyed. The images were probably brought to this cave for protection from the iconoclasts. A bronze Buddha has also been discovered. In art style it has a striking resemblance with the Gandhara Buddhas. Gold ornaments with a standing figurine of a four-armed Viṣṇu were also discovered. They are now the property of the Sultan who wears them on state occasions. Four inscribed stone pillars (*ṛūpas*) were also discovered in Koetei. One records the setting up of a sacrificial post for the *Bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice. Another has preserved a gift of a thousand kine to Brāhmaṇa priests. The third mentions several gifts called *Bahudāna*, *Jīvadāna*, *Kalpavṛkṣadāna*, *Bhumīdāna*, etc. These inscriptions are in Sanskrit. Aśvavarman, the founder of a dynasty, is compared to *amśumant*, the sun, the founder of the solar race. His son, Mūlavarman, is also mentioned. A holy place, Vaprakeśvara, where a gift of kine was made, is spoken of. These sacrificial posts bear testimony to the prevalence of the Hindu religion.

Eight short inscriptions engraved on a rock in west Borneo show that Buddhism also existed in the island from early times. Stupas have been carved and a few words, which have been read in the inscriptions record *śramaṇa* and *mahāśramaṇa*. They are in Sanskrit and seem to record the endowments of cisterns for weary travellers.¹

¹ English Bibliography: Majumdar. *Champa*; B. C. Chhabra Shastri, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*; Louis Finc, *Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China*; J. Ph. Vogel, *The Relations between the Art of India and Java*; A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*; A. Coomaraswami, *Indian and Indonesian Art*; P. N. Bose, *Indian Colony in Siam, and the Hindu Colony of Cambodia*; B. R. Chatterji: *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*.

A list of Dutch and French works is not given as it will not be of much use to most Indian scholars.

India has thus left an indelible mark on the religion, literature, and art of Indo-China and Indonesia. Indian legal and social institutions were imposed on these lands. The establishment of Indian colonies and kingdoms and the expansion of Indo-Aryan culture and civilization in the Further East constitute a glorious chapter in the ancient history of India.

INDIAN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY.

Ancient Indians were successful missionaries. They converted Tibet, a large part of China, Central Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Annam, Siam, etc., to Buddhism. India has thus ministered to the spiritual needs of one-fourth of the whole of humanity. The first foreign mission was sent by Emperor Asoka *circa* 252 B. C. Asoka also established hospitals both for men and beasts. This is recorded in the second Rock Edict.

THE SECOND ROCK EDICT.

"Everywhere in the dominions of king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as of those of his frontier sovereigns, such as the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Tāmraparṇi, the Yona (Greek) King called Antiyaka (Antiochus), and also those who are the neighbours of that Antiyaka, everywhere has king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, established medical treatment for animals. Wherever medicinal herbs, wholesome for men and for animals, are not found, they have been caused to be imported and planted. Roots and fruits, wherever they are not found, have been caused to be imported and planted. On the roads wells have been caused to be dug, and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast."

From the time of Asoka onwards, Buddhist monks showed great zeal in spreading Buddhism in foreign countries. Numerous Indian monks sailed to China. The conversion of China was complete by the first century A. D. During the reign of Emperor Hui (A. D. 89-103) 10,000 Indian monks lived in different monasteries in China. An order of nuns had also been established and during the reign of the same Emperor, 433 Indian nuns had founded various convents in China, for the education of Chinese girls, just as European nuns establish educational institutions for Indian girls at present. Several Indian embassies went to China.

While converting the greater part of Asia to Buddhism, India

profoundly influenced not only the religion of these several countries but their literature, their philosophy, their art, architecture, sport, medicine and music. The discovery of the Khotanese and Tokharian literatures shows that episodes of the *Mahābhārata* were translated into those languages. The Malayan people and the inhabitants of Bali had translated the *Rāmāyana* into their own languages. The Javanese version of the Indian epics has now been published. The greater part of the Tibetan and Chinese literatures consists of translations of Sanskrit works, many of which are lost in the original and are now only preserved in their Tibetan and Chinese translations.

VITALITY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

The vitality of Indian civilization is shown by the fact that ancient India was a melting pot of nations. Not only primitive foreigners, such as Scythians, Parthians, Bactrians, but the highly civilized ancient Greeks also, were quickly Indianized and absorbed. With regard to the absorption of ancient Greeks, there is the testimony of the author of the *Periplus* who mentions the export of ship-loads of Greek women to India from Egyptian ports. The statement of the author of the *Periplus* is corroborated by the evidence of Sanskrit literature. In Sanskrit drama particularly the hero is surrounded by a bevy of Greek women. In the *Śakuntalā* of Kalidāsa, King Dushyanta has a personal bodyguard of Greek women.

The Kushans of the Yuechi tribe became converts to Indian religions. Kanishka was a well-known Buddhist emperor. His successors became converted to Hinduism and adopted Hindu names. Thus the grandson of Kanishka adopted the name of Vāsudeva, a purely Hindu name.

The modern civilization of Europe is based on the civilization of ancient Greece and Christianity. It was the re-discovery of ancient Greek literature which produced, at the dawn of the modern age, in Europe, a most puissant intellectual movement, the Renaissance, which paved the way for the religious Reformation, followed in its turn by political revolution. The debt of Europe to ancient Greece in the domain of art, literature, philosophy and science is remarkable. Greek ideals still hold supreme sway over the heart of Europe. It is therefore clear that the ancient Greeks had evolved a very powerful civilization of their own. But even such a potent civilization as that of the ancient Greeks was profoundly influenced when it came into

contact with the Indian civilization. Thus the Greek King Menander was converted to Buddhism. Several votive offerings made by Greeks to Indian gods are recorded in several places. In the Nasik caves, a votive offering by a Yonaka, i.e., a Greek, named Indrāgnidatta from Demetria has been preserved. Similarly several votive offerings made by Greeks to Indian gods are recorded in the caves of Karla. But the most remarkable votive offering is by a Greek named Heliodorus, son of Dion, and ambassador of King Antialkides. This is commemorated by an inscription on a Garuḍa pillar from Besnagar in the Gwalior State. Heliodorus calls himself a follower of Viṣṇu. He was an ambasador to an Indian King Bhāgabhadra of Benares.

An English translation of the inscription on the Garuḍa pillar runs as follows : "This Garuḍa standard, in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was made at the order of the *Bhāgavata* Heliodorus, the son of Dion, a resident of Taxila, a Greek ambassador from King Antialkides, to King Bhāgabhadara of Benares, the saviour, while prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign."

LAKSHMAN SARUP.

OBITUARY.

DR. KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL,
M.A. (OXON.), HON. D. LITT. (PATNA AND BENARES),
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
1881—1937.

By the death of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, India has lost one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of her early history.

He was born in 1881 at Jhalda in Manbhum District of the Bihar Province. After matriculating at the University of Allahabad, he went to Oxford, where he was elected an Honorary Scholar of Jesus College and Davis Scholar of the University in Chinese. While in England he also qualified as a barrister-at-law.

Returning to India in 1909, he practised for some years at the Bar, first at Calcutta and later at Patna. While practising at Calcutta he was also engaged for some time as a lecturer in Ancient Indian history at the University, and it was during these years that he began to acquire that reputation for original research in early Indian history, to which he continued thereafter more and more to devote his energy. The most notable of his writings at that period were upon the non-monarchical states of ancient India, which were published in the *Modern Review* in 1912-13. These contributions were highly praised by that great authority upon Buddhist studies, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids.

In 1917 he was appointed Tagore Lecturer in Law at Calcutta University. In the same year he published a version of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which he helped to found. After further study and improvement, this version was later republished in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, and it is acknowledged by all competent scholars that he has made an invaluable contribution to the reading and interpretation of this obscure and much debated document.

Shortly after this he removed to Patna, where he continued to practise at the Bar of the High Court, but he now devoted an increasing portion of his time to historical research, for which he possessed so high a talent. In 1924 he published his *Hindu Polity*, a pioneer work in that field, which has produced a school of disciples

and begotten in sequel a large literature of further research. In the same year he published the text of *Rajanitiratnakara of Candesvara*. In 1927 in collaboration with Dr. Anantaprasada Shastri he published in two large volumes a *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mithila*; and about that time he also edited the *Yuga-Purana* of the *Garga-Samihita*.

Dr. Jayaswal's eminence in his own field was shown in his election as President of the Reception Committee of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference which was held at Patna in 1930. He was also elected President of the All-India Oriental Conference which was held at Baroda in 1933, and his address on that occasion embodied a masterly survey of the progress of Indological studies. In 1933 also he published *A History of India from A. D. 150 to 350*. In this volume he has shed much entirely new light upon one of the darkest phases of Indian history and has particularly revealed the achievements of the Naga and Vakataka dynasties.

The *Imperial History of India* was published in 1934. It is based upon a Buddhist text—the *Manjusri-Mulakalpa*. Chapter LIII of this work is devoted to an account of the history of India from *circa* 700 B. C. to *circa* A. D. 700. The text of this chapter has been critically edited with the help of Tibetan MSS. brought to India by the Reverend Bhikshu Rahula Sanikrtyayana, and Dr. Jayaswal has supplied an English translation and a valuable commentary upon it.

He took a leading part in the archaeological exploration of Patna, himself carrying on excavations, which revealed many important finds, including coins, which are now preserved in Patna museum. Indeed he contributed greatly to the equipment of that museum, notably a cast of the Hathigumpha Inscription.

In 1935 he visited England and lectured before the Royal Asiatic Society upon the Mauryan coins found during the Patna excavations.

During his last years he made a tour of Nepal, as a result of which he was able to contribute to the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society a long article on the Chronology of Nepal from 600 B. C. to A. D. 880. He had been a founder of that Society and acted for sixteen years as Honorary Editor of its Journal, maintaining therein an admirable standard of critical scholarship.

In addition to his major works, Dr. Jayaswal published a valuable succession of erudite articles upon various aspects of the Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Scythian and Kushan periods of ancient Indian history. His learning in this field is recognised wherever those subjects are studied by scholars.

He was himself a fine scholar and a generous patron of scholars. In the course of his career he had acquired a magnificent private library, which, after his lamented death on 4th August, 1937, he bequeathed to the Benares Hindu University.

This bare record of his busy and continuous devotion to the cause of Indian historical learning in one of its most obscure fields is, perhaps, a sufficient indication of our debt to him and the loss which we have suffered by his death.

PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON, M.A. (CANTAB.), 1861-1937.

The recent death of Professor E. J. Rapson has meant the loss of a great scholar in the sphere of early Indian history and Sanskrit literature. Born on 12th May, 1861, he was appointed in 1887 to the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, where he acquired an intimate knowledge of Indian numismatics, a field of scholarship in which he became, during the next nineteen years, a distinguished authority. In April, 1906, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, where he continued his study of Indian palæography for a further thirty years. He retired in 1936 and died on 5th October, 1937.

Professor Rapson made a series of highly valuable contributions to Indian palæography, epigraphy and chronology. His most important published works include *Ancient India, Coins of the Andhra and Ksatrapa Dynasties, Kharoshti Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein*, and *Indian Coins*. Besides these, he contributed to various journals scholarly articles upon some of the most obscure and intricate problems of early Indian history, such as Kushan Chronology, the Saka Era, and the nature and extent of the use of classical Sanskrit.

7.5

ISHWAR DAS,
Honorary Treasurer.
Panjab University Historical Society.

I. DURGA PARSHAD,
Professor of Economics,
Forman Christian College, Lahore.
(Auditor).

LAHORE: 10TH JUNE, 1936.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE,

FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1935-36.

76

RECEIPTS.	Amount.			TOTAL. Rs. A. P.	PAYMENTS.	Amount.			TOTAL. Rs. A. P.
	Rs.	A.	P.			Rs.	A.	P.	
(I) OPENING BALANCE :—									
1. In the Current Account with the Imperial Bank of India, Lahore	1,184	9	1	1,204 9 1	1. To Printing Charges of Journals, Notices, Envelopes, etc. ...	804	7	5	
2. Imprest with the Clerk	20	0	0		2. To Postage Expenses ...	67	8	6	
(II) INCOME :—					3. To Refund of Subscription ...	4	0	0	
1. By annual Subscriptions	519	0	0		4. To Temporary Peon for two months ...	30	0	0	
2. By sale of Journals	167	6	0		5. Messrs. Manohar Singh & Co., Lahore. in connection with the tea party on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Society	400	0	0	
3. By annual University Grant	500	0	0	1,593 6 0	6. To Printing Charges re. Silver Jubilee Invitation Cards, Admission Cards, Garden Party Cards & Envelopes, etc.	70	0	0	
4. By special grant from the University in connection with the Silver Jubilee of the Society	307	0	0		7. To Honorarium to the Clerk	60	0	0	
5. Donations towards the Silver Jubilee Celebration Fund of the Society					8. To Bank Charges	1	4	0	
					(II) CLOSING BALANCE :—				
					1. In the Current Account with the Imperial Bank of India, Lahore.	1,256	11	2	
					2. Imprest with the Clerk	20	0	0	
Total Rs. ...				2,797 15 1	Total Rs. ...				2,797 15 1

Examined and found correct.

ISHWAR DAS,

Honorary Treasurer,

Panjab University Historical Society.

I have audited the accounts of the Panjab University Historical Society from May 28th, 1934, to March 31st, 1936, and found them correct. There is no objection.

The accounts have been very well kept and checked throughout the period covered by the audit.

I. DURGA PARSHAD,

Professor of Economics

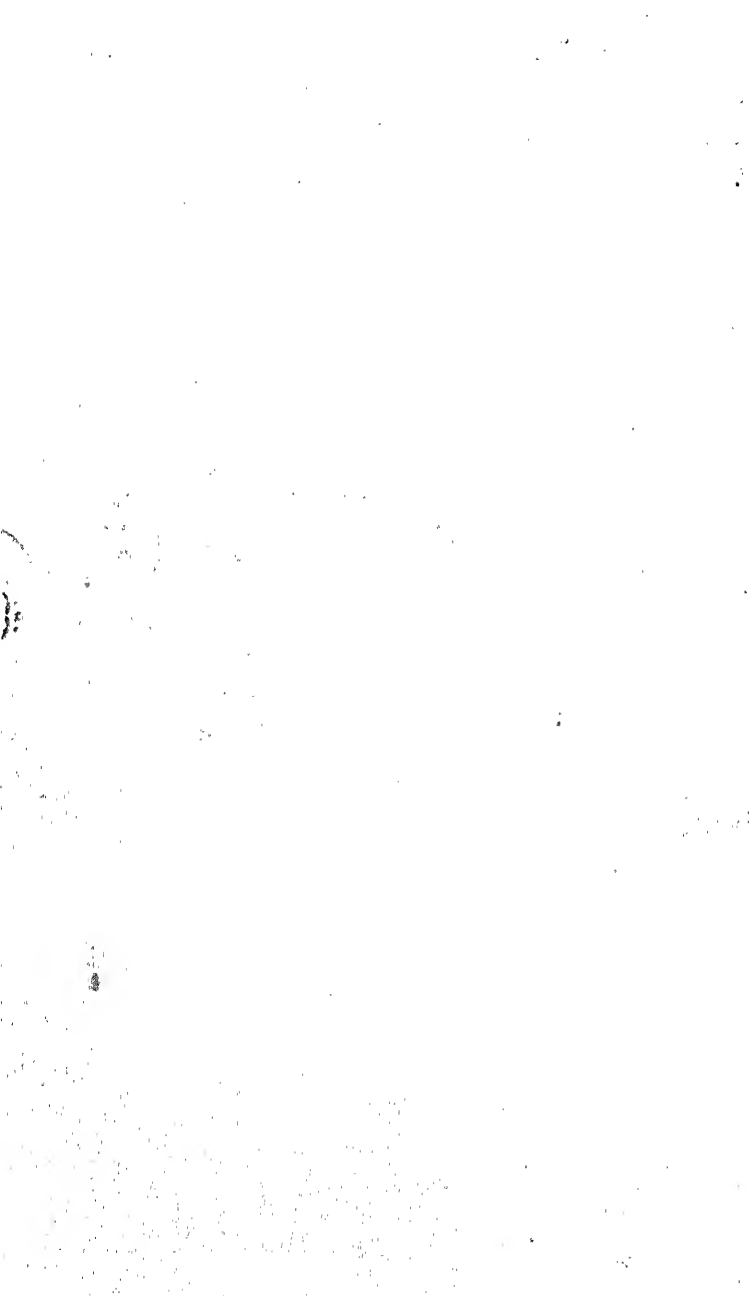
Forman Christian College, Lahore.

(Auditor).

LAHORE: 10TH JUNE, 1936.

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